FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 140 *22 July 1985*

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

TANJUG Reports on Last MBFR Talks Session BB 1

ALBANIA

Alia Sends Greetings Messages to Leaders B 1
Greets Colombia's Betancur B 1
Greets Belgian King B 1
ATA Cites Vito Kapo Speech at Nairobi Conference B 1
Plaka Attends Polish Embassy Reception B 2

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Visits Vratsa Okrug, Nuclear Plant C 1
Zhivkov Meets Moscow Youth Festival Delegation C 1
Balkan Cooperation Committee Session Held C 1
[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 17 Jul]
Kubadinski Receives Syrian Delegation 19 July C 2
Iraqi National Day: Tension Retards Development C 2
[OTECHESTVEN FRONT 17 Jul]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Returns From 'Holiday' Visit to USSR D 1
Rohlicek, USSR Trade Official on Energy Imports D 1
'Future Belongs to Socialist Integration,' CEMA D 1
[Latta in Bratislava PRAVDA 17 Jul]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Lushev Appointed New Head of Soviet Forces in GDR E 1
Sindermann Urges Coexistence at Potsdam Seminar E 1

HUNGARY

Progress at Geneva May Depend on U.S.-USSR Summit F 1
Role in International Division of Labor Viewed F 2

POLAND

Contract Signed on More Buses, Trucks for PRC G 1
Zieba, He Kang Sign Agricultural Protocol G 1
Ministers Review Jaruzelski Trip, Economic Plan G 1
Czyrek Speaks on Intelligentsia at Gdansk Plenum G 2
[TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Jul]
New Joint S&T Program With USSR Signed G 3
Foreign Trade Minister Meets Swedish Counterpart G 3
Public Support for Economic Policies Seen G 3

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY Central Committee Holds 18th Session I 1
Role, Work of CC Discussed I 1
Belovski on LCY Obligations I 15
Hadzivasilev on Workers' Roles I 25
Sindjic Reports to Assembly on Economic Trends I 29
Assembly Chamber Fails To Agree on Planning Bill I 31
Failure To Adopt Bill Viewed I 32
Government Views Jaruzelski Visit, Customs Zones I 33
Contested Foreign Credit, Operations Law Extended I 34
[D.B. in POLITIKA 11 Jul]
Details of Federal Directorate Murder Given I 34
[POLITIKA 11 Jul]
BORBA Urges Democratic Dialogue at CC Sessions I 35
[Marjanovic, 12 Jul]
Hungary's Marjai Continues Visit to Republics I 36
Visits Macedonia I 36
Visits Bosnia-Hercegovina I 36
Upcoming Luanda Nonaligned Conference Viewed I 37
Libya's Rajab Confers With Industrial Directors I 38
Promising Areas for Cooperation With Libya Outlined I 38
CSSR National Front Delegation Ends Visit I 39
[BORBA 12 Jul]
Correction to LCY CC Session Proceedings I 39

ALIA SENDS GREETINGS MESSAGES TO LEADERS

Greets Colombia's Betancur

AU201432 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA) -- The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia sent the following message of greetings to the President of Colombia Belisario Betancur:

"The celebration of the 175th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Colombia avails me of the opportunity that in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, to convey to you and the Colombian people cordial greetings and the best wishes for happiness and prosperity. I wish that the friendly relations between Albania and Colombia continue to develop uninterruptedly in the interest of our two peoples".

Greets Belgian King

AU211450 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 21 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, July 21 (ATA) -- The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greetings to the king of Belgium, Baodouin I.

"On occasion of the national day of Belgium, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, I convey to you the sincere greetings and to the Belgian people the best wishes for their happiness. I express my conviction that the friendly relations between Albania and Belgium will constantly develop".

ATA CITES VITO KAPO SPEECH AT NAIROBI CONFERENCE

AU211433 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 21 Jul 85

["The Problems of Women Are Indissolubly Linked With the Destinies of the Peoples and Particularly With Those of the Working Class -- From the Speech of the Head of the Delegation of the PSR of Albania Vito Kapo, at the UN World Conference on Woman Which Is Continuing Its Proceedings in Nairobi of Kenya" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 21 (ATA) -- At the plenary sitting on July 19, the head of the delegation of the PSR of Albania, Vito Kapo took the floor. She said among the other things:

The 3rd UN World conference on woman is drawing the balance sheet of the realisation of the 10 year program on woman for "equality, development and peace" and will set the problems that should be solved and the road it be pursued in the future. It comes out while studying numerous documents that it is positive the fact that now there are very few states that do not know "d jure" the political rights of woman, and a considerable number of them have a special legislation on woman, mother and working people. Positive is also the fact that in the conditions of the grave and general crisis that has in its grip many countries, women parallel with the working class have pitched into demonstrations demanding jobs, peace and development. They are becoming ever more conscious that their problems are indissolubly linked with those of the working class, part of which they themselves are.

TANJUG REPORTS ON LAST MBFR TALKS SESSION

LD200848 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2024 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Text] Vienna, July 11 (TANJUG) -- Delegations of NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries ended the 35th round of their negotiations in Vienna today without any concrete progress, which caused a renewal of polemical notes in speeches and recriminations at the closing session.

A new round of the Vienna negotiations on the two blocs' troop reductions in central Europe is scheduled for late September. Spokesmen for the two delegations told a press conference they were confident that the U.S.-Soviet summit in Geneva will include arms control questions, which may give an impetus to efforts for breaking the present deadlock in the negotiations.

However, judging by the closing speeches of the U.S. and Soviet representatives at today's final session of the 36th round of negotiations, both sides hold that the other side should make concessions. The Soviet representatives blamed the West for delaying a formal reply to the so-called new proposal of February 14, while the U.S. representative said that the Warsaw Treaty countries had turned the proposal into a condition for negotiations on some matters in which points of contact existed.

Having as an objective of our work the complete emancipation of woman, equality, development, peace, it must be borne in mind that every country cannot say that it is free, without fighting for the liberation of the others and the less so when it oppresses, enslaves through weapons and violence the peoples. Of what kind of strategy in the interest of women can speak the USA and the Soviet Union, when they have filled the globe with nuclear weapons and are seeking to do the same in the space. What freedom, equality, peace and development can be spoken of when Grenada is occupied through force, when Central America becomes object of interferences in its home affiars, when under the guise of aid the Afghan people are subjugated, when the imperialist interferences continue in Lebanon and when Israel with its savage policy of genocide tries to liquidate the Palestinian people, etc.

Further on, the representative of the PSR of Albania stressed: Peace is not threatened by the people who defend their own country, but by the superpowers which fight to divide the spheres of influence. The policy to preserve national independence, to safeguard the homeland, for the wellbeing of the people, the friendship among the peoples, for good neighbourliness and the relations of mutual observation among states with different social systems and against imperialism and social imperialism, is the sole policy that guarantees the liberation of the peoples, hence of women.

This is the policy pursued by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania since its founding by the great statesman, the organiser and legendary leader of the national liberation war and architect of the New Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Socialist Albania will follow this strategy, this policy in the future too... "No force can divert our party and people from the principled policy, from the policy of Enver Hoxha", Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the CC of the PLA and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania had declared. This is also the pledge of all the Albanian people.

We consider the emancipation of woman in our country as one of the monumental works of our revolution led by the party and of the thinking and action of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

After speaking of the achievements of the PSR of Albania in the field of the emancipation of woman, her important place and role in society as an active force in the socialist construction of the country, Comrade Vito Kapo stressed in conclusion that today in Socialist Albania there is no project where the hand and mind of the Albanian women are not present.

PLAKA ATTENDS POLISH EMBASSY RECEPTION

AU201431 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, July 20 (ATA) -- On occasion of the national day of Poland, the charge d'affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Poland, to the PSR of Albania, Jan Shiuhnjinski [as received] gave a cocktail on July 19. Present were the vice-minister of foreign affairs Sokrat Plaka the vice-minister of foreign trade Pajtim Ajazi and other invitees. Attending were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

ZHIVKOV VISITS VRATSA OKRUG, NUCLEAR PLANT

AU181952 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited Vratsa Okrug today. He was accompanied by Comrade Ognyan Doynov. At the building site, near the town of Kozloduy, Comrade Todor Zhivkov was briefed on the progress of the fifth block of the Kozloduy nuclear power station. Following this, Comrade Zhivkov visited the (Tsentromed) scientific-production enterprise where he was briefed on achievements in the work of the enterprise and on the application of new technological methods developed in this enterprise.

Comrade Zhivkov met the okrug leadership at which our first party and state leader was briefed on the work of the Vratsa Okrug BCP organization and on the progress of the implementation of the tasks assigned by the plan.

ZHIVKOV MEETS MOSCOW YOUTH FESTIVAL DELEGATION

AU191810 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Sofia, July 19 (BTA) -- Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, met today with the Bulgarian delegation to the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students.

Mr Todor Zhivkov commended highly the pre-festival preparations of the Bulgarian youth and expressed the conviction of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist party that the delegation will justify the high confide [as received] entrusted to them to represent successfully Bulgaria's rising generation, her remarkable achievements in the construction of socialism, her noble efforts and struggle for the maintenance of peace in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world.

The Moscow festival will be an important international political event, a brilliant manifestation of the will of the world progressive and democratic youth to fight for peace and social progress, to strengthen and promote anti-imperialist solidarity and unity of action, said in her speech Ms Stanka Shopova, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League. She emphasised that the preparations for the festival were held in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, of a further promotion of the young generation's friendship with the U.S.S.R., of consolidating international youth solidarity.

BALKAN COOPERATION COMMITTEE SESSION HELD

AU181410 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT 17 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] A session of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation has been held. Ambassador Dimitur Kostov, chief of the UN and Disarmament Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reported on progress made by the Bulgarian People's Republic toward the implementation of the principles of the Final Act and the Helsinki CSCE accords. The committee's tasks in connection with the forthcoming 10th anniversary of the Final Act, and its contribution toward the consolidation of detente in the Balkins were discussed. Angel Vasev, chief secretary of the committee, briefed those present on plan fulfillment during the last 6 months.

KUBADINSKI RECEIVES SYRIAN DELEGATION 19 JULY

AU191407 Sofia BTA in English 1337 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Sofia, July 19 (BTA) -- A delegation of the National Progressive Front of Syria led by Mr. 'Abd al-Razzak 'Awad, member of the CC of Ba'th Arab Socialist party, paid a six-day visit here.

At yesterday's final session with Mr. Pencho Kubadinski, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland front, both sides expressed their satisfaction with the fine relations between the two fronts and emphasised that at this meeting, too, they had exchanged useful experience. Both sides shared the opinion that the activation of relations between the Fatherland Front and the National Progressive Front is in the spirit of the steady promotion of the Bulgaro-Syrian relations, which is chiefly a result of the meetings and talks between the leaders of the two countries.

The Syrian guests were received yesterday by Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian agrarian party and first vice president of the State Council.

Mr. Petur Tanchev expressed the support of the Bulgarian agrarian party and the Bulgarian people for the consistently antiimperialist policy of Syria and for her stand on a comprehensive, durable and just settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The Syrian guests expressed their gratitude for the principled position of Bulgaria concerning the Arab problems.

IRAQI NATIONAL DAY: TENSION RETARDS DEVELOPMENT

AU180408 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Jul 85 p 3

[Mikhail Neykov commentary: "A Day for Drawing Up a Balance Sheet"]

[Excerpts] The anniversary of the victorious revolution and the overthrow of the monarchy is a bright holiday for the Iraqi people. On this day they draw up a detailed balance sheet of the path they have traversed -- a path that is hard and rich in vicissitudes -- and map out the tasks linked with the ambitious goal -- comprehensive development and catching up with the world's advanced states.

However, Iraq's comprehensive development is retarded to a certain extent due to the tense situation in the Near and Middle East. For years on end now imperialism and Zionism have been maintaining the "high level" of tension in that part of the world by using various ways and means to set local countries and peoples in opposition to one another. Much statesmanlike wisdom, patience, and goodwill are required in order to overcome the prevailing misunderstandings and conflicts and to consolidate the unity and cohesion peoples.

The celebration of the national day of the Republic of Iraq is an excellent opportunity for us to express again our confidence in the country's further development and in the successful implementation of tasks connected with the normalization of the situation in the region.

HUSAK RETURNS FROM 'HOLIDAY' VISIT TO USSR

LD212043 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 21 Jul 85

[Text] Prague July 21 (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Communist Party secretary general and President Gustav Husak today returned from the Soviet Union where he spent a holiday at the initiation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

ROHLICEK, USSR TRADE OFFICIAL ON ENERGY IMPORTS

LD181658 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] In Prague today, deputy premier of the federal government Rudolf Rohlicek received Nikolay Osipov, Soviet deputy minister of foreign trade, who is visiting the CSSR. They had talks about the further development of trade between the two countries and in particular about imports of energy raw materials from the USSR for the needs of our economy.

'FUTURE BELONGS TO SOCIALIST INTEGRATION,' CEMA

AU181642 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jul 85 p 6

[Boris Latta Article: "Resolution of CEMA Problems on a Qualitatively Higher Level; the Future Belongs to Socialist Integration"]

[Excerpts] The countries of the socialist community needed a little over 3 decades to prove the economic advantages of socialism over capitalism. However, the greater our common successes, the sharper are our enemies' attacks on the socialist countries. In addition to various embargoes, slander and deceit are the main weapons of the ill-wishers of socialist development. In recent years the centerpiece of their interest has become the main area of the two world systems' competition: the economic sphere.

In their theories, defenders of capitalism assert, among other things, that in regard to the socialist countries, successful economic development is already a thing of the past. At the same time -- what else? -- they knowingly conceal the fact that, for example, in the 1971-83 period national income in the USSR rose 82 percent, industrial production 98 percent, and the productivity of social labor 61 percent. In contrast, in the same period in the United States national income rose 42 percent, industrial production 37 percent, and labor productivity 22 percent. However, it would be incorrect to claim that people do not exist who acknowledge the aforementioned objective facts. In an article recently published in NEWSWEEK, R. Cullen -- in connection with impressions he gained during his stay in the USSR -- writes that "the myth of an undermined economy is connected with a particularly dangerous conclusion. No crusade from the West will exhaust the USSR and cause its extinction."

The most frequent reason for emphasizing a "crisis" in the economies of the countries of the socialist community is the measures undertaken in the interest of perfecting the system of managing the national economy and their echo among the public. We always witness the same reaction: When, in connection with the systematic quantitative and qualitative growth of production forces, the process of perfecting production relations in the socialist countries is being activated, there resound from the West the same voices that depict the whole development as our "shift away from the key principles of Marxism-Leninism." That was the case in the period of economic reforms in the sixties.

That also is the case now, when the countries of the socialist community are doing all they can for a successful transition of their economies onto the path of intensive development.

Thanks to the economic cooperation of the CEMA member-countries, imperialist plans for exhausting socialism economically were successfully opposed in the past and are being successfully dealt with now. The increasingly complex international situation, including worldwide economic relations and the responsibility for the fate of socialism, uncompromisingly confront us with the issue of stricter criteria of allied solidarity on the principles of socialist internationalism and coordination of policy against the common class enemy. The failure to fully appreciate or even underestimate the importance of this solidarity only plays into the hands of the enemies of socialist construction.

At the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties, when the majority of the European CEMA countries began the transition of their national economies onto the intensive path of development, the situation was complicated, among other things, by the deteriorating trade and payment relations between East and West. The pressure of imperialism grew, and the imperialists tried to exploit the situation, which was not isolated, by means of various ideological falsehoods.

The conclusions of the 40th CEMA session in Warsaw stressed that the countries of the socialist community face difficult but fulfillable tasks: the defense of socialist achievements and values against attacks by imperialist forces, the struggle to reinforce the peace and security of nations, the further perfection of economic cooperation, and the creation of new stimuli for expanding integrated relations. No one conceals the fact that the CEMA member-countries have problems in their economies and methods of management. However, despite that the truth remains that the socialist economic system when, compared with the capitalist system, reveals its advantages because it is more dynamic.

Our enemies' attempts to explain the situation by saying that the socialist countries, "as the consequence of mismanagement in the development of the economy, are trying to employ capitalist methods of management" have nothing in common with reality.

LUSHEV APPOINTED NEW HEAD OF SOVIET FORCES IN GDR

LD191504 East Berlin ADN International Services in German 1449 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Berlin, 19 Jul (ADN) -- At the decision of the USSR Government, Army General Petr Lushev has been appointed new commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany.

SINDERMANN URGES COEXISTENCE AT POTSDAM SEMINAR

LD192153 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1742 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Potsdam, 19 Jul (ADN) -- The GDR considers it her highest duty to spare no effort in order to create a worldwide coalition of reason and realism beyond any differences of opinion and differing ideologies. This was emphasized Friday evening by GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee and Politburo member, in his toast at a reception given for the participants in the international theoretical conference "40 Years After the Potsdam Conference." In order to end the arms race on earth and prevent the militarization of space, there must be solidarity for peace. Referring to the lessons of the fight of the forces against fascism united in the anti-Hitler coalition, the People's Chamber president said: It is a historical experience that the joint fight against a common enemy was successful. It is a political experience that war must be fought before the weapons speak. It is a practical experience that thriving, mutually beneficial cooperation is making an important contribution to the preservation of peace.

Horst Sindermann paid tribute to the joint struggle of the peoples against fascism and stressed the USSR's outstanding share that made the biggest sacrifices for the victory. The fight by the German antifascists, standing for the good Germany, likewise was highly appreciated at the conference.

Hard work was undertaken in the GDR to do justice to this legacy through the realization of the Potsdam Agreement, which offered us the opportunity for a new beginning, the People's Chamber president continued. Among the great achievements was not least the fact that in our relations with the neighboring states of the CSSR, the PPR, and the USSR a new chapter was begun.

The socialist German state is committed to peace. Situated directly at the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, it is the GDR's special concern that the policy of detente be continued and made permanent. Today's concern is not "open questions" but secure, respected borders; it is not to shed crocodile tears over a divided Europe but to work for a peaceful coexistence of the peoples of Europe.

In conclusion, Horst Sindermann pointed out that after the smashing of fascism, two sovereign states, independent of each other, grew from German soil. Both, he said, bear the responsibility to ensure -- and that for us is one of the main lessons of Potsdam -- that never again will war, but only peace emanate from German soil.

Eric Suy, deputy of the U.N. General secretary, in his reply thanked the GDR Government and organizers for the opportunity to conduct this highly fruitful exchange of experience in this historic place.

PROGRESS AT GENEVA MAY DEPEND ON U.S.-USSR SUMMIT

LD211133 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0610 GMT 21 Jul 85

[From the 'Seven Days on Five Continents' program]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Optimistic American statements and rightly cautious Soviet newspaper opinions followed the conclusion of the second round of the Soviet-American arms limitation talks in Geneva. I asked Istvan Kulcsar: Did the chance of agreement actually increase or decrease in this round?

[Kulcsar] I must respond by saying that there are two sides. On the one side, we must realize that two rounds have already taken place without anything of substance having occurred. This does not give reason for special optimism. However, on the other side, it can be said that the summit meeting is approaching, and it can be expected to a certain extent and very cautiously that some progress might occur there, since the issues at hand are such that a decision must really be reached at the highest level.

[Announcer] So, can it be concluded from the statements thus far that the next round of talks will possibly not even be resumed until then, and impetus for emerging from the deadlock is being awaited at the summit meeting?

[Kulcsar] In any case, they will be resumed formally on 19 September, exactly 2 months before the summit. However, we will see whether anything will happen in this third round.

[Announcer] Are they at the same place they started regarding every issue, or have new proposals appeared since the start?

[Kulcsar] There have been new proposals but no trace of progress precisely because the issues are interwoven. For example, the USSR has said that if there is progress on the issue of preventing the militarization of space, then it will be willing to agree to reduce its number of strategic nuclear weapons, their delivery vehicles and, supposedly, their warheads by some 25 percent. However, the United States is presently unwilling to listing to any type of compromise at all regarding the issue of space weapons.

[Announcer] It emerged, when the Soviet-American summit meeting was announced not long ago, that a topic of discussion will be what is being discussed at Geneva.

[Kulcsar] Probably the main topic.

[Announcer] And what will the others be?

[Kulcsar] There is no preliminary agreement concerning this. Preparation for the summit is now in progress.

[Announcer] Might Reagan's illness affect the summit?

[Kulcsar] In principle, yes; in practice, at least, it appears on the basis of present American reports that in the autumn the President of the United States will be capable physically, mentally, and from every viewpoint of undertaking such a journey and such discussions, which are, in any event, physically strenous.

ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL DIVISION OF LABOR VIEWED

LD181028 Budapest MTI in English 1028 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] Budapest, July 18 -- Over the past four decades Hungary has become a country of medium-sized economical potential. The per capita real wages and consumption have increased three-fold.

The right external economic policy had a major role in these results [words indistinct].

Prominence in these is given to cooperation with the CEMA member states, primarily with the Soviet Union, but relations with advanced capitalist and developing countries have also increased considerably. The oil price explosion and the global crisis from the autumn of 1973 has had the most serious economic effect on Hungary in the last 30 years, mainly with the deterioration of the terms of trade, the difficult marketing conditions and the strengthening of protectionist measures.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party states from the fact that as Hungarian national economy is intensively linked to world economy in many directions, the planned development of long-range external economic relations and the external economy-oriented development of the product structure has to be placed in the focus of the entire Hungarian economic policy. Only thus can the country moderate losses originating from the deterioration of the terms of trade.

A higher economic [words indistinct] of these, determine its place in the international division of labor [word indistinct] agricultural land is its most important natural wealth, as its value of 936,000 million forints accounts for 65 percent of the total natural resources, and 22 percent of the national wealth. The value of mineral resources accounts for only one-third of the resources, and 11 percent of national wealth. Accordingly, domestic resources cover the majority of the Hungarian coal demands and the total bauxite requirement.

The oil and gas reserves cover only one-third of the need. With [word indistinct] water resources, although there are many rivers in Hungary, 95 percent of these flow into Hungary from abroad in a polluted state. At the same time the thermal, medicinal and mineral resources are almost unparalleled in Europe.

Hungary has developed natural branches in the international division of labour on the basis of its natural resources and other fundamentals. These include wheat and maize production, poultry, cattle and pig breeding, or bus production and pharmaceuticals production in industry. Considerable imports, mainly from basic and supplementary materials lacking in Hungary, for example certain fodders, chemical materials, wood, iron ore, blast furnace coke, non-ferrous metals, wool, cotton, raw leather, petroleum and natural gas are necessary to maintain the standard of these and increase their competitiveness abroad. This is one of the major reasons that Hungary, also as an open economy, has a large share in the international division of labour.

If targets of the 6th 5-Year Plan, ending this year, are met, and the possibilities in international division of labour are better utilized it will be possible to envisage further considerable progress for the 7th Five-Year Plan cycle. These include a 14-17 percent rise in national oncome, a 13-16 percent growth in industrial production, a 12-14 percent growth of agricultural [word indistinct] a 10-13 percent growth of the population's [word indistinct] and consumption.

CONTRACT SIGNED ON MORE BUSES, TRUCKS FOR PRC

LD201858 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] Warsaw, July 20 -- A contract providing for additional shipment of Polish trucks, autos and buses to China, worth over 62 million Swiss francs, was signed here today.

Under the deal, Poland will supply China with 1,500 Polonez automobiles, 200 Jelcz tourist coaches, 100 Autosan intercity buses, 600 Star trucks, 200 Jelcz truck-tractors, and 400 other trucks in return for Chinese tea and cotton. The vehicles' delivery will be completed early next year.

Earlier this year, Poland and China signed another contract providing for export of Star, Jelcz, and Autosan trucks and buses. The Chinese side also bought ten-odd thousand Polonez, FSO-1500, and Fiat 126P autos.

ZIEBA, HE KANG SIGN AGRICULTURAL PROTOCOL

LD201850 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] Warsaw, July 20 -- Poland and China signed a protocol on cooperation between their agricultural ministries here today. The first ever such accord between the two countries was signed by ministers Stanislaw Zieba and He Kang.

Both countries will cooperate in seed production, growing and artificial reproduction of plants, exchange of farming genetic meterials, fruit, vegetable, meat and poultry processing, production of fodders and oils, and in agriculture.

During his week-long visit to Poland, Minister He Kang was received by Sejm (parliament) Vice-Speaker Zbigniew Gertych and Vice-Premier Roman Malinowski. The Chinese guest and his party also visited state-run and private farms and food producing factories.

He Kang told journalists that the Chinese agriculture took an interest in Polish-made modern farming machines and equipment. The Chinese side's exchange offer includes rice, maize, soybeans, tea and cotton. Thus, the cooperation guidelined by the protocol will be beneficial and valuable to both sides, said Minister Kang.

MINISTERS REVIEW JARUZELSKI TRIP, ECONOMIC PLAN

LD191327 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Deliberations by the Council of Ministers have begun in Warsaw. The Council acquainted itself with the course and results of the visit to Yugoslavia by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The social and political situation in the country was also assessed. The Council of Ministers reviewed the results of consultations on various versions of a plan for the next 5-year period and on provisions of the next year plan. The results of the consultations proved that the majority of the public understands the need to implement the main socioeconomic goals of the country, especially creating and sonsolidating a balanced and effective economic development.

Complex issues related to employment, wages, and social benefits were also discussed.

CZYREK SPEAKS ON INTELLIGENTSIA AT PLENUM

AU181520 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 2

["Own correspondent" report on Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee Plenum in Gdansk on 13 July]

[Text] Our responsibility for Poland and its future requires a united effort on the part of all working people and calls for an increase in the contribution of creative thought in overcoming present difficulties effectively. The level of socioeconomic development attained by the country, as well as the transformations in management of the nation's wealth wrought by implementation of the economic reform, present us with tasks of a qualitatively new kind.

This was said during discussions at a plenary session of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee held on 13 July. The discussions were attended by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and chaired by Stanislaw Bejger, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship.

Gdansk Voivodship is one of those areas in which the intelligentsia plays a not insignificant role. Participants in the discussions said that a center of scholarship of national importance had been created on the territory of the regained Gdansk coast in the postwar period.

Arkadiusz Tackowiak, a worker from the Gdansk refitting shipyard, said: The intelligentsia, as was stressed many times at the 19th Central Committee Plenum debates, cannot operate in isolation cut off from realities.

In their speeches many speakers focused their attention on indifference and the possible ways in which the party can combat it: Among the speakers were Zenon Sobiecki, a farmer employed at the Zduny Agricultural Production Cooperative; Jedrzej Wilkowski, a lawyer; and Stanislaw Smolenski; a lecturer at the Higher School of Nautical Studies in Gdynia.

Consistent execution of the tasks defined by the 19th Central Committee is essential for overcoming prejudice. Participants in the discussion stressed that the party should work to improve the mechanisms for public evaluation of the effectiveness of creative research and create a climate that will promote the vocational activity of the intelligentsia on the Gdansk coast. A task that is currently of particular importance for this community is its active participation in formulating a program for the development of the voivodship until the year 2000. The formulation of such a program was recommended by the PZPR Politburo after its meeting in Gdansk in January.

Jozef Czyrek spoke during the meeting. He emphasized the continuity of the party's policy toward the intelligentsia working for the good of the fatherland in close alliance with the workers' class. He also informed the audience about the results of the work of the suggestions commission, which was formed after the 19th Central Committee Plenum. He said the commission would work unceasingly to gather the opinions of communities for the 22d Central Committee Plenum.

At the end of the meeting a time frame was adopted for implementation of the 19th Central Committee Plenum resolution on the efficiency of and improvement in the party's functioning.

NEW JOINT S&T PROGRAM WITH USSR SIGNED

LD192112 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] A draft long-term program for scientific and technological progress was signed in Warsaw between the PPR and the USSR and the methods of its implementation agreed upon. The document was signed by deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, Mikhail Kruglov, and head of the Office for the Advancement and Application of Science and Technology, Minister Konrad Tott.

The program was coordinated with the CEMA comprehensive program for scientific and technological advancement. The agreement covers more than 80 topics, the four most important of which are the design and production of the following: a delivery van for weight up to 3 and 1/2 metric tons, a new generation of mobile cranes, a new generation of color televisisions, and electromagnetic clutches and brakes.

FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER MEETS SWEDISH COUNTERPART

LD202036 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] At the invitation of Foreign Trade Minister Tadeusz Nestorowicz, Swedish Foreign Trade Minister Mats Hellstrom stayed in Poland on an official visit. Their talks confirmed the interest of both parties in possibilities for further expanding Polish exports to Sweden of coal, timber and copper products, synthetic rubber, fruit and vegetables, and Swedish exports to Poland of iron ore, [words indistinct] and medicines.

The Polish side underscored the need for credit facilities in order to increase purchases from Sweden. The agreement signed in Paris on the rescheduling of Polish debts creates good foundations for this.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ECONOMIC POLICIES SEEN

LD191524 Warsaw PAP in English 1402 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Warsaw, July 18 (PAP) -- Poles have clearly supported the main target of various concepts of the National Socio-economic Plan for the years 1986-1990 and the 1986-Central Annual Plan, which is to create and consolidate the national economy's abilities to develop effectively and in a balanced way, according to a government planning commission's report on the results of public consultation on these concepts.

This target calls for strengthening market equilibrium, speeding up modernization and improving exports. Out of three concepts which differed in the expected growth rate of the national income, a majority of the polled (77.9 per cent) came out in favour of a concept providing for a faster development.

There was no questioning of the need to raise the investment ceiling and share of investments in the national income, which means a decrease of the share of consumption in the national income in 1990 against this year's figure.

Poles also agreed on the necessity to secure greater efficiency of the national economy, but assessments of chances for this were unequivocal, with many critical opinions on the feasibility of such assumptions. Those polled also consented to the necessity to increase the growth rate of foreign trade turnover.

In general, most divergent opinions were made on various aspects of the social policy.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS 18TH SESSION

Role, Work of CC Discussed

LD200955 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG) -- The 18th session of the LCY Central Committee is taking place in Belgrade today. It is chaired by Vidoje Zarkovic. Members of the highest party forum between the two congresses are discussing the role and work of the LCY Central Committee, on which the introductory report was submitted by Dimce Belovski, secretary of the Presidium. The report on the year's work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium will also be discussed within the ambit of this point on the agenda.

The implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in decisionmaking and of the use of social reproduction income and resources is also on the agenda of the 18th session. The introductory report on this item will be submitted by Kiro Hadzivasilev, member of the Presidium.

The draft stands, which are the result of several months of discussion in the republics and provinces, will be used as the basis for the discussion on this item on the agenda.

The first speaker in the discussion on the position, role, and method of work of the Central Committee was Marinko Bulatovic. He said: We received an open admission that, quite rightly, we cannot be satisfied with our performance during the past 3 years. Two million of our members are obviously not satisfied either: first, because our conclusions and stands are not fully carried out since the sessions, conclusions, and materials are very much like one another; and because deadlines are seldom set or the people to do the job are seldom specified. [Words indistinct] This is why the memo we received from the Presidium very much resembles our own indictment. We seem not to have had one single session during which the need to abide by and strengthen democratic centralism in the LC was not mentioned. However, there is not a single report or analysis confirming that we have managed to do anything about it.

On the contrary, party members censure us not for the fact that, in this respect, we are irresolute and there is no end to this irresolution, that we tend to come to a decision through consensus or through coordination at the federal level, which as a rule constantly leaves an open space for future different interpretation and behavior. No one bears any responsibility for this and yet we are constantly reiterating and drawing attention to the fact that not abiding by democratic centralism is one of the basic reasons for the process of weakening -- perhaps it would be better to say for the weakening -- of the ideological and action unity of the LCY. We have reached a point when it has become almost unpopular to work for joint objectives over and above one's narrow interests. And those who are vociferously wrecking unity constantly trot out some unresolved and so-called "open" questions and become "heroes" instead of being silenced. No one seems to be responsible for this.

Obviously nothing will happen either to those delegates who, to give an example, in the Serbia Assembly -- or it doesn't matter which high forum in the federation -- claim that the situation in Kosovo is steadily improving, or those who even say that everything is in order in Kosovo and that the efficient measures called for against the treason that for 4 years [words indistinct] of Yugoslavia drenched in blood, in their view, amount to narrowing and restricting the quality of the Albanian nationality and in addition claim that the punishment policy in Kosovo is "adequate to the social danger of criminal actions."

The communists, in fact, cannot understand this. Have we, comrades, Bulatovic asked, forgotten that we are in fact members of the headquarters of all proletarian brigades and units in our country and of our party? Everyone wants to see us united and doing our job together. Anything else introduces unrest and alarm, and they are merely watching it, especially now, when in the wake of the conclusions we have adopted and in view of the hope that everything will be better, individual responsible people, high-ranking officials in the federation, have started sniping at and outwitting one another and explaining to the public what they did not say here and what they failed to explain at this and other proper places. I suggest that we start calling them to account. The period of 1 year, which is all that remains to the 13th congress, makes it possible for us to introduce some order into quite a few of these things, Marinko Bulatovic said.

With our program we opted for the acceptance of socialist commodity production and for the consequences flowing from that, said Hamdija Pozderac. However, it would appear that in the method of work of the LC, and here I am thinking of all levels of our organization including our Central Committee, this key program orientation has failed to receive an appropriate methodological elaboration. Hence, the delays regarding specific questions should have been resolved by now because if we truly accept this kind of commodity production, its laws and specific features, its causes and effects, then it follows that in the practice of the LC there cannot exist as an ideal some monolithic unity, but a unity implemented through the contradictions of the practice dictated by objective laws of commodity production.

I think that we must accept the fact that federalism of associated labor is less alive in the federation today whereas there is more federalism in the republics and provinces, added Pozderac. He mentioned the example of inflation being constantly on the agenda of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities. Hardly a day passes without newspaper reports on some new aspect of the way inflation is perceived and what should and should not be done.

It should not happen that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] adopts a decision on prices being restored to the February level without a great deal being done about it and without anything happening to anybody in our country. The Central Committee cannot adopt an anti-inflation program with the consequence being that instead of entering a struggle for its implementation, we have a high rate of inflation.

However, the problem is not in the positions. We have enough of them, I could even say too many. The problem is rather in our approach to these stands because we should be aware of the limited nature of this type of work, not to mention the fact that the problem is also in the quality. The time has come for us to admit that many of them are the product of a party art-for-art's-sake attitude: that of producing positions for the sake of the positions that are of no significant influence on our members because they are too remote from concrete and actual problems. Our Central Committee slowly reacted to such manifestations.

The Central Committee can rightly be asked to insist on a more uniform interpretation and implementation of party policy, stressed Nandor Major. He added that on some significant class issues the degree of unity within the LCY is poor and even worrying, and that there are manifestations of disunity. This is why, he stressed, we should pay appropriate attention to the assessment in our memo for today's session that there are several aspects where deviations from the statute have been particularly strong. I think that the Central Committee should explain and get rid of this manifestation as soon as possible -- if indeed it does exist -- or a nonstatute situation could emerge in parts of our organization and the Central Committee could be censured for tolerating such manifestations.

Having noted that in addition to justified criticism there is also unjustified criticism from positions alien to the LC, Nandor Major expressed his opinion that responsibility in the work of the Central Committee is strengthening. Speaking of the tasks that should be carried out to improve the work of the Central Committee, it should be increasingly involved in party activity channeled into coordination of a multiplicity of self-management interests through the political system, base its stands increasingly on this activity and base democratic centralism relations upon it, and increasingly abandon the methods of work that are characteristic of conventional political parties.

In endorsing the material and the stands in the introductory report, Danilo Vasic assessed it as very positive, and said that during the past period the main directions and substance of LCY Central Committee work had been channeled into strategic questions of economic and social-political development of our country.

The LCY Central Committee made a significant, historic change in the method of its work during the past 3 years at its 13th session with the introduction of the practice of seeking views, suggestions, and proposals beforehand from basic LC organizations and the entire LCY membership regarding the stands and proposed conclusions on major issues, stressed Vasic. In his view, such a method will contribute to further elimination of creating party policy in the leaderships, forums, organs, and restricted groups, while the basic LC organization is side stepped and made to play the role of an object of policy and of a mere executor of decisions.

Vlado Janzic said that major questions exist in our society and in the LC that have an impact on the work and unity of the LCY Central Committee, that is to say, to the conclusions of the LCY leaderships at various levels. I believe, he added, that the basic weakness of our conclusions is that they do not define an efficient political and ideological struggle against all centers of resistance to the implementation of such a policy. I am convinced that the idea is utterly illogical and ill-argued that the LCY Central Committee has good conclusions but that the problem is that they are not carried out. Practice is the basic yardstick of political efficiency and of the quality of political conclusions, Janzic said. Accordingly, we must sometimes delve into the documents, not into their general direction, but into their content and substance. We must work out to what extent they are an unprincipled compromise of the ratio of political process at any given time and not a true answer to actual problems.

The basic weakness of LCY political activity is that we have totally failed to resolve the problem of new methods of the efficient influence of the LC on social developments and of efficient methods of leadership within the LC itself. There are a considerable number of LC members -- and they are in the leaderships too -- who interpret the idea of the LC's political role and its interpretation in practice only through speeches, reports, and interviews; there are also people who reduce their operative function to holding the basic levers of power in their own hands.

Speaking of the method of work of the LCY Central Committee, he said Central Committee preliminary meetings must not be transformed into panel discussions, round table meetings, and parallel monologues that everyone interprets in his own way after the session. All Central Committee members must contribute to changing this practice. Equally, our plenums must not remind us of rituals that manifest a maximum degree of apparent unity while major differences regarding the stands are brought into the open after the plenums and outside the Central Committee meetings.

I have noticed, he added, that even between LC leaderships a sort of mistrust has started to emerge. When discussing the causes of disunity in the LC we should be discussing differences as well. In conclusion, Vlado Janzic suggested that the discussion on this particular topic should be transferred into the commissions that will be preparing the changes in the LCY statute because, as he put it, this Central Committee will not be able to basically change the methods of present work this year.

One gets the impression that the future of our revolution and the improvement of our economic crisis -- and some people say of our moral crisis and the crisis of leadership -- depends now only on the work, knowledge, efficiency, and resolve of the top party leadership of the SFRY, Mitja Ribicic said.

I think that this is exaggerated, that the strength of our revolution is somewhat underrated here, and also that socialist awareness and everything that has manifested itself since the 13th session and public discussion is underrated as well.

I do not think it can be claimed that our present leaderships do not follow Tito's socialist perspective, that they do not have socialist and self-management orientations, or that they do not open the door wide enough or give wide enough scope for a dynamic process of socialism in the direction of self management, democratization, and humanization of social relations. They are along the line of creating a specific Yugoslav synthesis between national and class elements in an era of national emancipation, in an era of emancipating man's work, and in an era of scientific-technological revolution, Ribicic said.

I do not know whether there is a party in the world -- a communist or a socialist party -- which in such a difficult political situation has openly criticized itself and its own work, Ribicic stressed. Today we are very dissatisfied with ourselves and perhaps later on, after some time has elapsed, this period will not be regarded as only a period of inflation of meetings and words without any efficiency but a period that is very dynamic and interesting for the LC and for our society, a period of crucial importance for our revolution and our stability. I think that further tasks of the LC should be tackled from positions of this kind of realistic optimism. The LC must become the basic factor of the integration of our working class. I think that the role of the LCY Central Committee must become of crucial importance in this respect; a protagonist of creating, I would say, a third new Yugoslavia.

We advocate the idea that we should not wait for the 13th congress but that already in the autumn, step by step, we should gradually place on the agenda the questions of how to improve our work and responsibility. I think that we should have a discussion on how to better organize work within this Presidium, within the framework of the state.

It would be a good thing if we were to adopt a very clear attitude on the 1-year term of office. We are not running away from this problem as if it did not exist, but it is a fact that it causes us great difficulties in the federation and also in the municipalities and in the republics. I think that it would be a good thing if a clearer stand is taken in the Socialist Alliance regarding this matter.

Milutin Baltic stressed that the work of the Central Committee should be discussed not only from the point of view of the extent to which the Central Committee provides efficient answers to the problems emerging in our social development and the extent to which the perception of these problems and the initiatives and proposals for their solution are present.

I think that apart from everything we have done so far, these problems still exist and that probably there are many methods that are not ideologically coordinated or not coordinated at the right time, and this delays or renders the whole activity even more difficult.

We have not carried out an analysis of the function of the political system; nor did we perceive sufficiently all the consequences flowing from it for the activity of both the LC and socialist forces. The Central Committee did not have this analysis and perception of how the system is functioning either.

The activity of subjective forces on building a joint platform for this system for the solution of specific and concrete social problems of immediate and long-term importance is altogether a different question. In our practical activity we failed to grasp this and did not develop things along this line. This is why problems in all sociopolitical communities had to occur, and they keep occurring, and not only as regards the problems emerging at a federal level. However, we have problems that emerge within sociopolitical communities ranging from the communes up to the republics and provinces, which in some places often have the same origin or have a great deal in common.

Baltic went on to stress: "We are again getting into a situation that I know very well by reference to what was happening in our country in 1971, in which one is unable to distinguish what nationalism is." I think that we should be able to see these things, stressed Baltic, among other things.

Without wishing to question our program orientation and statute decisions and agreeing that more can be done before the congress on changing the unsatisfactory situation, I would say, said Zivan Vasiljevic, that in view of the existing practice it is impossible to establish democratic centralism and raise the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee and of its members unless efforts are made to establish appropriate and better relations between the LCs in the republics and provinces and between their leaderships and this Central Committee.

We must, he stressed, fully explain and attain complete ideological unity on what is the independence of national parties and where and how they actually carry the responsibility for uniform LCY activity. I am not questioning everything that has been achieved so far and that is undeniably an achievement of our revolution, but in view of the present way of electing members of the LCY Central Committee -- whether or not we want it -- to all intents and purposes we have delegations in this Central Committee, with everything that that implies, and this need not be a bad thing. We cannot wait for crisis situations to occur in order to discuss this problem properly.

By the same token this Central Committee must insist in an organized and vigorous way, for the sake of strengthening the real role of the LC and consequently of its role as well, that the LCY operate more in the delegate and self-management system and in the socialist alliance. As the LC we have not quite managed to get away from our role of the party in power, and accordingly it is not surprising if the LC is directly blamed for all mistakes, said Vasiljevic.

The continuity of our revolution has always depended on the ability of the LC and its leaderships, and of the Central Committee in particular, to give meaning to and to formulate the ideopolitical objectives and tasks imposed by the given sociohistorical situation and to fight for their realizations, Vidoje Zarkovic stressed.

This has again today become the key factor in our efforts to come out successfully from the situation in which our society has found itself and to continue our struggle for socialism. For this reason, we must constantly pay due attention to the LC's ability to realize its vanguard role.

At every stage of our development the LC and its Central Committee have tried to adapt their mode of activity to the demands of the historical situation. Tito's approach to the organization and development of the party and its leadership's methods of functioning must remain our lasting inspiration and duty as far as these issues are concerned. As we all know, his interest was always centered on, above all, the need for the LC's constant link with the masses, for its identification with the interest of the working class, and for the strengthening of its unity and the development of democratic internal relations based on the principles of democratic centralism.

Voicing the warning that today, as in previous periods, we are again in a situation where we have to wage a struggle on two fronts -- on one hand against the bureaucratic and on the other against the bourgeois-anarchistic concepts of the party -- Zarkovic stressed that the present situation calls for a high degree of alertness to the aspirations embodied in and proponents of these two concepts. Under the present economic crisis and the crisis in other spheres it is exceptionally important for the LCY to demonstrate in practice that, as a revolutionary vanguard, it is capable of opening up concrete prospects and can contribute to faster changes in the present situation.

The LCY and its leadership have again today demonstrated that they have enough strength and ability to understand the essence of the crisis and to provide insight into the causes of the discrepancy between the program's goals and practice. This was best demonstrated by the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, which originated with the LCY, and by the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session.

However, the LC and its leadership unfortunately have not shown that they have enough strength and ability to change the situation to that extent, that their revolutionary goals and thus their conclusions and stands could be realized much faster. This is a major problem that should be examined more thoroughly and settled much faster.

I think, Zarkovic underlined, that one of the causes of this lies in the fact that the LC has been slow in settling accounts with those forces within its ranks and in society that advocate a strange status quo. As Kardelj said at the 11th congress, these forces either cannot see or refuse to see that life goes on, that there is no end to progress, and that objective circumstances in society change every day. Only a communist party capable of rapidly transforming these new circumstances into fresh, subjective measures of further social progress and which is always looking for fresh and better solutions can expect to be a genuine leading ideopolitical force.

Antidogmatism continues to be the unavoidable prerequisite for the implementation of the LCY's leading role in our society and its leadership's efficient and more successful functioning. Any slowness in the work of the LC and its organizations and leaderships is a weapon in the hand of antisocialist and antiself-management forces.

In the present situation the LC leaderships are expected to act in a more efficient and creative way. They must center their attention more on the problems of real life and monitor the situation in society more actively. In doing this, however, they must not ignore the gist of the problems -- unfortunately, this is something that has been happening of late -- since it would only increase confusion in society and would not solve the problems.

These LC leaderships must take initiative and have their own stands about any issues of social importance. They must also call constantly and in a concrete way for the settlement of open social problems. Those debates in the leaderships that fail to produce any stances can only increase disunity and lower the efficiency of their work.

The LCY and its leaderships are obliged to ensure, by proceeding from LCY general policy and in keeping with it, and by functioning through the system's institutions, that answers are provided to outstanding issues much faster and that concrete solutions on the basis of the development of our economic and political system and our entire social development are found. Any sluggishness in the search for solutions to the pressing concrete problems of our society diminishes the reputation of the LCY and its leaderships and of the institutions of the system of self-management, Zarkovic stressed.

Proceeding from this, our Central Committee has taken on an obligation before the LCY and our working class to make a concrete contribution, by the next congress, to the efforts to solve numerous open problems affecting our society.

By the next congress much has to be done to step up the work of the Central Committee in line with the problems imposed by the concrete situation in society and which arise from the preparations for the 13th congress. To implement the already formulated program of its work, the Central Committee will have to meet more frequently and search for the answers to many problems. However, in its overall activity the Central Committee must pay the most attention to the issue of the LC's cohesive and unifying role.

In recent times, Zarkovic warned, we have seen not only the unhindered emergence of a number of partial interests -- which is good since it demonstrates the democratic essence of our system -- but also their domination and the very slow and difficult way in which they are being coordinated. The LC must remain one of the most cohesive forces in our society and contribute to the synthesis of numerous differing self-managing interests by constantly providing guidance, from revolutionary and Marxist positions, on how to strengthen the social role of the working class and working people.

The present-day excess of pressures by partial and short-term interests indicates that the LCY and its Central Committee have been insufficiently active from the historical and revolutionary point of view. If we want to succeed in this, we, the Central Committee of the LCY, whose basic concern is the interest and prosperity of the SFRY's working class -- and that means the development of socialist self-management and on that basis of the SFRY as a whole and as a community of equal nations and nationalities -- must be more resolute in our action.

For this reason the implementation of the LC's cohesive role through the delegate system is of decisive importance for the efficient functioning of our entire system and for its further development on socialist self-managing bases. We must not ignore the fact that for some time now we have failed in our efforts to agree on many issues concerning our economy and system, although it is quite obvious that this is something we have to do if we want to be successful in implementing the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. Is this not yet further evidence that in the method of work of our communists and of this Central Committee there are certain shortcomings and problems which, if unresolved, could hinder our further progress? We have also been confronted with so many differing ideas about the basic principle in the LCY's work and activity -- democratic centralism -- that they are beginning to have a paralyzing effect on the work of the LC.

There is no doubt that we must constantly strengthen the democratic component in the work of the LC, and there is no dilemma about it. However, in the course of finding solutions we must democratize to the maximum all relations and processes. But once a decision has been adopted, it has to be implemented without any further discussion, particularly by the LC's executive bodies. In any case, they are there to execute the agreed upon policy.

In this context, during the next period we must pay attention to the work of political-executive organs in the LCY's leaderships. We often have a biased view about the functioning of these organs. Only Tito's initiative about collective work, the decision-making process, and responsibility is being implemented. Collective and individual responsibility and concrete individual responsibility of every member of a political-executive organ for a commitment made collectively or individually are being ignored. For this reason these collective bodies are frequently used as platforms for lengthy monologues or dialogues without any concrete tasks or responsibilities.

I think that this is one of the reasons behind our inefficiency and sluggishness, which, of course, does not help in our efforts to solve our current problems.

The criticism at the expanse of the work of the Central Committee is by and large an expression of a broad dissatisfaction with the existing situation and the existing relations in our society, and in the LCY as well, and of dissatisfaction because of the Central Committee's powerlessness to have any meaningful effect on changing this situation and these relations, said Milan Kucan.

However justified it may be, the criticism must be objective. I do not think it would be a good thing to underrate what this Central Committee has achieved, and it cannot be said that little was done. Another question is whether, in view of the challenges of the time and of the situation, this was sufficient. I think we agree that it was not sufficient. I am not saying this to vindicate the Central Committee or to dilute criticism against it, but in order for better solutions to be found on the basis of these positive moves -- and there have certainly been positive moves in relation to the previous situation.

I think that merely to place the Central Committee in a situation where it will concern itself with key social issues -- which surely is great progress -- is nevertheless not enough for its successful work and for the implementation of its role. However, in order to achieve this, we must first and foremost cast aside the illusion that these are issues that concern Central Committee methodology. They must be issues regarding the substance of the Central Committee's social role, how to define and carry out this role, and how to present the Central Committee in the present circumstances, tied up with broader questions of the actual role of the LC.

Kucan then pointed out the need for the Central Committee to discuss the requirement of changes in the work methodology so that after the congress it may truly become the highest organ of the LCY in shaping policy and bearing responsibility for the continuity of the revolution. Although this is a matter for the congress to decide, said Kucan, I nevertheless believe this is not only congress' right but that the Central Committee is duty bound to say which and what kind of changes would efficiently make it functional. From this point of view I think that the present Central Committee is, in terms of its concept, size -- ranging from the number of its members to its composition -- organization and methods of work, and the present conditions in our society and in the LCY, and in particular in the requirements of our time, a kind of anachronism.

It is, such as it is, an expression of the time and relations when the Central Committee more or less in a uniform way and with a declarative orientation confirmed the policy that had been conceived and shaped more or less outside it in the executive-political organ. In relation to that policy, the Central Committee manifested unity and it was enough for it to meet two or three times a year with so-called prescribed people taking part in the discussion. Today the Central Committee must itself shape this policy and formulate standards in relation to the most topical questions in our society, and in the future it will have to do this even more. It must adapt its size, composition, and its organization and method of work to this kind of role. If the Central Committee and its members are to bear the responsibility for the stands, then the stands must be built in a democratic procedure, in a dialogue, in the process of clarification, and in the polemic during the session and in its working bodies at which these sessions are prepared. For all these things our Central Committee is unwieldy, too big, and its composition inadequate. It cannot work as a collective in which members work in conditions of an equal footing and in which everyone singularly and all together bears the responsibility.

There was a considerable criticism also on the Presidium's work. I would say that some criticism was justified but some was not; by and large, however, these shortcomings are not the result of a subjective wish of its members allowing the Presidium to grab the authority of the Central Committee. However, the position of the Presidium runs counter to this kind of Central Committee role. We are in fact a microcosm of the Central Committee. There are many of us. This is why by and large there are monologues and no clarification of views. Our distribution of work is not adequate or good, we are not turned adequately toward the Central Committee in the sense of organizing and rallying together its members into working groups, bodies, commissions, etc., in which the basis for the Central Committee decisionmaking is prepared. As a result and despite considerable personal involvement by Presidium members, the Central Committee members often remain uninvolved and passive, which presents a distorted picture about the relations between the Presidium and Central Committee.

In these conditions an additional burden is presented by the automatic inclusion of the presidents of the Presidium of the republican Central Committees and provincial committees, which reduces the objective responsibility of the Presidium to its Central Committee and also the responsibility of its indivudal members. This is why, I think -- and this is my proposal -- we should consider radically changing the number of Presidium members after the congress. I think that one republic and province member is enough and that the presidents should be invited to attend sessions as required.

In order to make it possible for this Central Committee to provide clear answers to the broadly opened dilemmas in the processes in our society and in the LCY, which to a great extent are in conflict with existing program orientations, the Central Committee should answer the question: What has been done since the 12th congress? Marko Orlandic asked.

During this period we have two strategically important actions: We established the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and carried out a general party public discussion.

These two moves instilled optimism and the conviction of LC members and of our society that we provided an assessment of the situation, of the process and tendencies, that we established the causes of these developments, and that we gave purpose to the clear directions of the way out of the crisis.

However, the question is asked: What have we achieved in the implementation of these orientations? Without underrating the broad activity that has been pursued and everything that has been achieved, it is a fact that negative trends in our society and in the LC are deepening on issues of central importance for the situation and for the relations in our country. It is a fact that at least on these two moves we went from here with uniform stands and conclusions. When we part company here, things becomes substantially different.

I accept that only 3 months have elapsed since the 17th session and that, realistically speaking, it was impossible to make radical changes in the material and economic-financial area. However, I do believe that the period since the 17th session signifies a not insignificant step backward, although it is only a psychological one, because we have displayed a considerable degree of unreadiness and shortcomings. The powerlessness of this Central Committee to fight successfully for the implementation of its stands, of course in a democratic procedure and with democratic relations, has been shown again, Orlandic said.

The central issue now is the one of relations within the LCY and in this connection the functioning of this Central Committee. This is the case, Orlandic said, because federalization in the LC has assumed increasingly wide proportions, because the LC and its organs have, basically speaking, become identified with narrow interests, and because opportunism is penetrating deeper and deeper into LCY ranks. Any hesitation to discuss these issues and to adopt clear and unified stands in a democratic procedure and dialogue would further suit tendencies of disintegration in our society and a federalization of the LCY.

It is obvious that for quite some time now we have been coming up against serious problems in leading the LCY, and these have a substantial impact on the implementation of the leading role of the LCY as a whole, Veselin Djuranovic said.

The sociopolitical and ideological LC action that went on for several months and was triggered by the draft conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee undeniably confirmed the powerful elements of crisis in the leadership of the LCY. Djuranovic therefore suggested that a thorough analysis of the basic reasons for this situation be carried out because the general party discussions identified the present time as crucial and as a turning point in changing the situation. A routine and improvised approach will not be able to open up the process of this change, Djuranovic said.

The basic issue that has not been resolved yet, despite certain progress -- and, moreover, this is also the central issue of the new way of implementing the leading role of the LC, according to Djuranovic -- is the issue of the activity of the LC as a factor of socialist awareness and of forward-looking socialist action within the self-management and delegate system. If the LCY is not inside the delegate assemblies, then understandably it must stay on the periphery, trying with principled stands to express its views, which remain a declaration. Logically there follows the inevitable practice of piling up conclusions standing in midair.

We have worked out, said Djuranovic, a so-called personal union between the party and the state, but the LC has not yet moved from the line of etatisation and of identification of its own approach to the assessments and stands with the state organs' approach to the assessments and stands. Besides, I think that the powerful line of the so-called horizontal rotation of cadres from the party into state organs and vice versa is identical in terms of its operation, characteristics, and approach; and changes here are very difficult, said Djuranovic.

Veselin Djuranovic also referred to the issue of the organization of the LC leadership, that is to say of the organization of the party's top leadership in the country, which, he said, is becoming of paramount importance at this time. According to Djuranovic, this question must be considered from several aspects. First and foremost, new circumstances have arisen since the departure of the historic leaders of the revolution whose generally recognized and established ideopolitical reputation of authority was frequently of crucial importance in solving accumulated political problems at any given moment of our revolution's development. The top political and state leadership of the country now operates in a different way, it is organized in a different way, and it maintains relations in keeping with the new situation.

Taking part in the debate, Nijaz Dizdarevic said that during several meetings the issue arose of the responsibility of LC members and of discovering the reasons why, when we adopt "good" conclusions, we do not have the strength to carry them out and why even after a general party discussion we do not manage to overcome the paralysis in decision-making in our society and in the implementation of adopted decisions.

Having expressed his concern, as he put it, with increasing dissatisfaction among LCY grass-roots membership and in our society as a whole because of disunity and inefficiency -- and this applies to LC as well -- Dizdarevic said that confusion has been appearing recently within the ranks of even the most honest leaders and communists. To overcome this, he stressed, things should be called by their proper names. In his view this refers also to the federalization of the LCY and to the work of the Central Committee.

Having stressed that we conceived federalization with three organically linked component parts: the socialist self-management democratic system; the equality of nations and nationalities; and the SFRY as a unified strategy of the revolution and as a part of the statehood of every republic and autonomous province, Dizdarevic asked how much we contributed, both as the LCY Central Committee and as the LC, to get into a situation where one of the three component parts is overemphasized; this part is now pushing aside the other two, that is, self-management and federation, which is described both abroad and in our country as poor. We were not able to discover anything about it from the prepared material for the session; how can we discuss our own role and the leadership of the LC in the preparation of the congress without getting into the context of relations in the SFRY where all the contradictions in our society are either unraveled or tied up?

It seems to me that irrespective of the people involved, the LCs in the republics and provinces are going back to the concept of a classical party while the LCY is becoming more of a party coalition. Can we theoretically and practically perceive the nationality question at the present time in the wake of the experience we have gained, in order to see how it is reflected on these developments in the LC, which are very contradictory but which contain many tendencies of etatism and bureaucratism?

Hisen Ramadani questioned the attitude toward the LCY Central Committee conclusions because we have not managed, we have not found the strength, and are unable to implement the conclusions fully. Quoting the example of the conclusions on the system of social planning, Ramadani said that the Central Committee has not carried out its leading function if, in the process of implementing the established task, it has failed to monitor and guide that implementation.

I have been listening carefully, and, as a communist and LC member, I have been trying to find the answer to the question of where and to what extent I have been responsible for the work of the Central Committee and of the Presidium, said Bruno Vuletic, because a policy, a political movement, or a party is not measured in terms of the quantity of quality of its conclusions or of the stands it passes, but in terms of the practical results it produces, the situation in social relations, production relations, the area of production, and in the social sphere in the policy towards young people and their place in society, and so on. I must admit that this discussion has not answered this question for me.

At the end of the discussion on the role and work of the LCY Central Committee, the Central Committee members approved Dimce Belovski's proposal that the conclusions be adopted at their next session, due to take place at the end of this month. A working group has been set up which, on the basis of the discussion today, will prepare draft conclusions on the role and work of the LCY Central Committee.

As part of this item on the agenda, the Central Committee also adopted the report on the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Until now we have by and large made the declarative demand that the workers decide about the conditions, the methods, and the results of their work. Ideopolitical activity is not clear or concrete enough to change the awareness of the situation, with the result being that in some cases we have tolerated, either consciously or not, alienation of income and the spread of etatism, said Marjan Rozic, the first participant in the discussion on the implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in decisionmaking and in using their income. Rozic stressed that etatism is the basic reason for the slow and inconsistent implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. This is the etatism that is fed by and lives on alienated income and stifles self-management as the only real basis of the implementation of this program.

The basic question to which a clear answer has to be provided in the interest of our revolution, in Rozic's view, is who truly decides about national income. Is it that the workers are inept and incapable of deciding about their income, or, under the pressure of etatist domination on the distribution trends, have they been put in a position of making their decisions under severe constraints? I think that the answer is clear. We must secure such changes in our socioeconomic relations whereby, in a system of new values, workers associated in the self-management system and in delegate relations will increasingly control their income.. This is a central class question, it is a question of the further development of socialist self-management. Unless there are changes in the present material relations without changes in the global distribution of national income to the advantage of those who create income, the accumulated problems in the formation and acquisition of income and of personal income cannot be resolved.

The assessment made in the trade unions is that unless equal conditions of economic operations and of earning income in the unified Yugoslav economic area are attained, consistent application of the principle of distribution according to work done and according to the results of work cannot be ensured. Unless discussion is resolved, it will be difficult to give life to all other stands pertaining to the system of income and distribution, was the warning issued by Lazar Djordjic.

If we had adhered to the demands of the Central Committee members, this topic would have been on the agenda much earlier. It is a good thing, however, that it is on the agenda now, in the wake of those critical undertones the Central Committee provided with the draft conclusions of the 13th session, the debate on which was conducted in the LC, said Dusan Dragosavac.

According to him, the essential thing now is to enable the LC to carry out its task up to the congress as well as possible. Another essential thing is that the Central Committee work more methodically and prepare its sessions better. It is even more essential that we attain ideological, political, and action unity on a number of issues.

Dragosavac referred to two issues in particular that vitally influenced the stability of our socioeconomic relations. The first is our country's indebtedness, which hangs our autonomous economic policy in the balance.

The second is our intranational relations and manifestations of nationalism, which, in Dragosavac's view, we could push off the public political scene (i.e. deal with them adequately) if we kept on the line of the LCY program.

In addition to some old unsurmounted class elements, nationalism in our country with all our nations and nationalities has a common basis in the state capital and in extended reproduction, and now more and more in simple reproduction. We should make an effort to overcome this situation through operationalization [operacionalizacija]. We have the programs, but the question is one of our ability to change the situation.

Dragosavac then referred to the counterrevolution in Kosovo, stressing that this is a joint Yugoslav problem and that the battle has to be waged from positions of our Marxist program.

In adopting the platform on Kosovo, the Central Committee subjected LC leaderships and organizations in Kosovo, and others as well, to criticism and spoke self-critically of its own work. However, there was no self-criticism at many meetings. What happened was, for us, a most inauspicious thing: The communists made their choices on a national basis, and when the communists divide along this criterion the LC is ill-equipped to resolve social-political problems successfully.

After speaking at length about the problems of the struggle against nationalism, Dragosavac expressed a view that one of the biggest mistakes of the former Kosovo leadership was that it kowtowed to the leadership in Tirana. We will not resolve the irredenta problems if we ask the Albanians and the communists in Kosovo to place themselves in a similar position vis-a-vis anybody at all. On the contrary, if they are all equal, we shall find it easier to resolve all social and other problems.

I think, said Dragosavac, that we should standardize as soon as possible our action in the struggle against assorted right-wing forces of nationalism to prevent this from becoming our main issue. This is not because the nationalists are strong, but because, after all, they have outside support, and if we are not united they can go on causing trouble. They could not exactly bring down the SFRY because it is not weak, but they could introduce disquiet in our intranational relations and among the communists.

In conclusion, Dragosavac pleaded for our relations with the IMF to be reexamined and the possibilities reviewed for cooperation under more favorable conditions.

For Milos Minic the central issue is what the Central Committee can do in the period before the 13th congress, what changes should be introduced in its work so as to be able to fulfill more successfully its role in guiding the entire LCY toward contributing more substantially to the solution of outstanding socioeconomic and ideopolitical problems. Looking for an answer to these questions, in my view, one has to proceed from the following facts:

First, the attitude of central and provincial committees of the LC towards the issues of vital importance for the Yugoslav community and for its social, economic, political, material, and cultural development is of quintessential significance for the successful fulfillment of the role of the LCY Central Committee. The LCY Central Committee should discuss and adopt stands on the joint questions of the struggle of the LC and of socialist forces in a genuinely democratic atmosphere. However, this depends on the attitude of the republican central committees, on the provincial committees, and on the most influential people in these leading organs who are virtually all members of the LCY Central Committee -- on the attitude of these leaderships and of these people toward this kind of commitment of the LCY Central Committee.

I think, said Minic, that the roots of disappointment and of shortcomings within the LCY Central Committee have to be sought here. A change in the work of the LCY Central Committee is possible only if a critical discussion takes place in the political centers of the republics and provinces on their own attitude toward their responsibility within the LCY Central Committee and toward the LCY Central Committee.

I think that at this moment in time this sort of step, in view of the mood in the LCY and in our society and in view of the economic, political, and social situation in the country -- and taking the international stiatuion into account -- is of exceptionally great importance. I think that this step is necessary to allow the LCY and our society to move forward.

The other fact is that the LCY can successfully fulfill its duties and commitments only under conditions in which all the organs and bodies of the federation carry out their role successfuly. The LCY Central Committee cannot replace these bodies and organs if they do not fulfill their duties and the responsibilities toward the Constitution and the laws or if they poorly carry out their duties. It is an illusion to believe that LCY Central Committee interventions can replace the work of these organs.

Zivko Grubor stressed that operating within the trade unions and the institutions of our system, the LC must fight against the phenomenon of there virtually being two strata of our working class: the one section of the working class, which for no fault of its own has for years existed on the poverty line, and the other section, which again through no merit of its own has not yet encountered the problem of reduced personal income or the problem of delays to distribute something to which they are not entitled. It is impossible not to notice the fact that some organizations have the money for expensive administration buildings, expensive holiday homes, and excessively developed consumption, while they unceasingly increase the price of the products and present to other working class sections the bills to cover the cost of their megalomany. The basic problem, he stressed, is not that they are presenting these bills. The basic problem is that LC members in the institutions of the system, by accepting these demands, themselves become signatories of the solutions which make the differences in the conditions under which income is earned and distributed even greater.

We expect that the adoption of the Constitution and other legal enactments will bring about faster, high-quality changes in the system of socialist self-management democracy, that is to say that the workers will have a dominant position in social reproduction relations, stressed Slobodan Bojanic.

However, it has to be admitted that we have not yet devised an adequate set of regulations concerning the self-management settlement and coordination of the relations relative to the workers' interests within the process of reproduction.

The result is that there are many shortcomings directly affecting the stagnation of socialist self-management socioeconomic relations in a number of circumstances.

Veselj Morina made the assessment that the proposed stands and the implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in decisionmaking and in their control over income and social reproduction resources will meet the demands our society requires at this moment. For this reason it can be rightly said, he added, that the proposed changes in socioeconomic and other relations are of crucial importance to motivate the workers in associated labor and to more actively and more successfuly include them in all the processes of self-management decisionmaking within the framework of securing a proper self-management system, and especially the delegate and the assembly system.

The implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in decisionmaking and in distributing social reproduction resources is the central issue of the implementation of the leading position of the working class of socialist self-management. The result is that the draft stands that we are discussing today, with the essential key premises of the development of socialist self-management and of socioeconomic relations implicit in them, open up the scope for a fuller and more consistent implementation of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, of the Constitution, and of the Law on Associated Labor, said Radenko Puzovic. I think that these stands provide an answer to one of the questions put by the LC membership and workers during the party discussion conducted over a period of several months in connection with the conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Having stressed that the stands presented in the introductory report on the implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in decisionmaking and on the use of income are, on the whole, acceptable, Abdul Ramiz nevertheless remarked that some assessments of the so-called alienated income are oversimplified.

After the discussion on the proposed draft stands on the implementation of the constitutional position of the workers, the Central Committee, on the proposal of Nikola Stojanovic, who is chairing the working group, decided to accept the draft text of the stand.

On the basis of the discussion today and on the basis of the discussion among party memberships, the working group will prepare a definitive text which the Central Committee will discuss at one of its sessions in the autumn. It was decided that the draft of ideopolitical stands on the implementation of the constitutional position of the workers in decisionmaking and in the use of income and of social reproduction resources will be adopted then.

Belovski on LCY Obligations

LD191544 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0350 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG) -- The obligation to discuss the work and role of the LCY Central Committee arises from the LCY Central Committee work program established at the 16th session on summing up the main recommendations and demands from the general party discussion. Our aim is to promote the work and the more effective realization of the Central Committee's role as the highest leading organ of the LCY between two congresses.

The discussion of the work and role of the LCY Central Committee and its bodies, a critical review of its weakenesses and delays, and a summing up of experiences and ideas, are an integral part of the overall process of critical reexamination of the ideopolitical and organizational and cadre preparation and adaptability of the LCY so that it can successfully carry out its leading social role in new historical conditions. It is a matter of obligations that have arisen from the broad demands of the members, in relation to which all LCY leaderships should behave with the utmost responsibility.

With today's discussion on the work and role of the LCY Central Committee, we are not placing all major and strategic questions of the development of Yugoslav society, socioeconomic contradictions, and open questions of development on the agenda. At the same time, it is not possible -- nor would it be appropriate -- to discuss the work and role of the LCY Central Committee above and beyond the situation and trends in society and the LCY. The discussion should carry out an objective assessment of all problems relevant to realizing the Central Committee's role.

This should contribute to equipping the Central Committee for more successful development of united stands, the more consistent realization of established policy, standpoints, and conclusions, for the full application of and respect for the principles of democratic centralism, for a more up-to-date and efficient working method and for more authoritative activity and the realization of the role of mobilizer and initiator of activity in the political system of socialist self-management and in the front of organized socialist forces and in society as a whole. This discussion will also contribute to the forming of the future organization of the LCY political center, on which discussions are already taking place in the LCY.

It is natural, therefore, that here there can be no discussion in some kind of routine way merely of the method of work, for this would be restrictive. The method of work, although not without significance, in itself does not solve problems. The scope must be deeper and more effective, for needs have also increased, and the Central Committee must face up to this comprehensively and in line with the obligations and pronounced responsibility.

In preparing for this session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium formed a special working group composed of members of the Presidium formed a special working group composed of members of the Presidium and members of the LCY Central Committee. The result of this work is a memorandum, the direct function of which is to inspire discussion. The memorandum contains a series of statements and assessments, as well as proposals for some possible measures with a view to furthering the work of the Central Committee. No specific proposed conclusions or stands were offered for the session. These standpoints should arise from the discussion, then they can be offered for discussion and adoption at this or the next session by a group of members of the Central Committee that we are putting in charge of this today.

In the discussion on the 13th LCY Central Committee session numerous criticisms were made of the situation and relations in the LCY and instances of disunity, opportunism, and inconsistency in action on carrying out established policy were pointed to. Criticisms were also made of the work of all leaderships of the LC and of party bodies in the republics and provinces, but first and foremost they were directed against the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. Of course, the criticisms made in the public discussion, as well as those addressed to the top leaders of the LCY, were mainly an expression of dissatisfaction with the situation in society and in the LCY. There criticisms are also a starting point for a consideration of the activity of the LCY Central Committee and possibilities for furthering its work.

In the public discussion it was emphasized in a pronounced way that the LCY Central Committee is carrying out its role and executing its functions effectively and authoritatively in the interests of realizing the dominant role of the working class on the established strategic course of the Yugoslav socialist revolution. The consideration was widely expressed that the development of united standpoints and policy of the LCY and their consistent implementation on principles of democratic centralism also depend vitally on the LCY Central Committee's ability to carry out its obligations and responsibilities. The LCY Central Committee is called upon to be the revolutionary center of the LCY, to act in good time and in a united way to coordinate and unite LCY action and to intervene in instances of deviation from adopted policy.

We are faced with major problems, the slow and inconsistent implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, an alarming growth in inflation and drop in living standards, a falling behind in the development of socialist self-management, tendencies towards the disintegration of Yugoslav society and manifestations of federalization in the LCY, various kinds of vacillation on the ideological front and the aggressive activity of antisocialist and anticommunist forces. In analyzing the LCY's activity in comtemporary conditions, attention must be paid to the level of democratization in society that has been reached, but, at the same time, to the sharp conflict between self-management and etatism and various centers of power, which are checking the power of the working class and restricting the position of the worker in decisionmaking.

The Yugoslav socialist revolution cannot realize its goals without a capable and united LCY, just as the LCY cannot be united and capable of fulfilling its role if the revolution is "marking time" and social development is stagnating. One of the basic questions, in view of this, is what to do next to ensure that the LCY and its leadership enhance their capability as the leaders of the working class and the revolution and in practice contribute to changing the existing situation and curbing the negative tendencies. Quite clearly, a precondition for the further development of the revolution and for the unified activity of the LCY is the ability to resolve socioeconomic contradictions and to provide correct and timely answers to unresolved issues. If the correct answers are not provided for these questions, social criticism will objectively become more radical and could turn into criticism aimed at discrediting the LCY as a whole.

Clear and unified ideological standpoints, practical political steps, and concrete actions are demanded of the LCY. These expectations are an expression of the trust the working class and working people have in the LCY as the vanguard of the working class in the development of the Yugoslav socialist revolution.

An overriding commitment of the LCY leadership is that it should build up ideopolitical foundations for solving the most important social questions. The LCY is aware that it must take the lead and guide in social action. It is expected to resolutely create the conditions in which all society's subjects, all its cells and institutions, carry out their social tasks in the process of linking up society democratically and bear their part of the responsibility for the state of affairs in society and the development of the country as a whole.

In a situation where social contradictions are being exacerbated, pressure on the LCY leadership, and especially the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, is growing to halt the negative tendencies and ensure greater effectiveness of social action, the necessary unit, and reliable ways out.

The tendency exists for all problems to be put on the plate of the LCY and for all solutions to be expected first and foremost -- and often only -- from the LCY leadership. At the same time, no attention is paid to the essence of our constitutional order and the place and role of all subjective forces, or to the responsibility of all the factors in the system of socialist self-management. The tendency to place too much stress on the functions and responsibilities of the organs of the LCY alone leads to the diminution of its overall activity in our system, which could have serious consequences for the character and content of future general social trends. It has, however, to be acknowledged that we ourselves sometimes contribute to this through our practical conduct and activity. The LCY and in particular its leadership must identify and eliminate these dangers in the most serious manner.

This is only possible by broadening the LCY's activity and acting within the framework of the front of socialist forces, not as an alliance of forums but as a movement of the working class, working people and popular masses. The LC must take the lead in action but at the same time stimulate the activity and responsibility of all other subjective factors.

An examination of the social role of the LCY and its leading organs must be organically linked to the basic questions of our revolutionary development. The key tasks now boil down to the need in society and the community to overcome the economic crisis and ensure stable material development, and to open up new horizons for the further development of socialist self-management. This demands that the unity of the LCY and the unity of all the organized forces of socialist consciousness should be realized, this being an essential condition for the unity and stability of the Yugoslav community.

The LCY will build and consolidate its strongest unity on its program and revolutionary class strategic orientations by constantly contributing to the solution of the complex questions of our development, offensive ideopolitical activity, and initiative in the broad activity of all the socialist social factors. The LCY's unity cannot be achieved by sitting around a baize-covered table, declarations of desires and intentions, or concern with side issues and matters of pragmatics. An inclination towards compromise, avoidance of key contentious issues and verbal rhetoric cannot be a basis for the LCY's unity.

The LCY will realize its cohesive role and unity particularly through its ability to make creative-theoretical breakthroughs that open up prospects for further developing the Yugloslav socialist revolution. Along with this, it is necessary to unmask and break down resistance and obstacles on the road to realizing the dominant role and influence of the working class not only in the organizations of associated labor but also in decisionmaking on all the affairs of society and relations within it.

By means of its activity the Central Committee must overcome contradictions that emerge in practice between the unity of the LCY and the autonomy of the LCs in the republics and the provinces. The Central Committee must ensure ideopolitical unity and unity of action on the basis of the strategy established in the LCY program and on the basis of the global task of developing socialist self-management and the concrete questions of its realization. In building its policy it must make possible and ask for a creative contribution by the LCs of the republics and provinces, so that they too can assume and bear the responsibility for building a uniform LCY policy and for its united and consistent implementation. This means that the LCY is not a coalition of the central and provincial committees and their presidium, but a united league of 2 million members who have consciously and voluntarily joined a political movement distinguished by its high revolutionary, humane, social, and transformation goals in the service of the historical interests of the working class, freedom and human progress and the liberation of labor.

The LCY is a revolutionary force organized in the form of thousands of basic organizations that wage a direct and concrete struggle for socialism and the consolidation of the Yugoslav community by acting as the internal moving and mobilizing force in the democratic socialist system and its institutions and organizations.

We must be aware of the fact that in the LCY itself there exists a danger of pragmatic and obligatory self-identification with the decisions of the state and executive-political organs as opposed to its orientation toward leading the working class and constantly developing a Marxist critical attitude toward everything that stands in the way of realizing the interests of the working class and prevents the working class from having a decisive say and influence in our society.

In the present sociopolitical situation there is a more pronounced demand that, being the center of the revolution, the LCY Central Committee should perform the function of the ideological and political synthesis and formulate the policy and be the champion of initiative and democratic control. In keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, the LCY Central Committee should achieve a greater degree of insight into the state of affairs, activity, and realization of the policy by acting jointly and in unity with the LCs of the republics and the provinces and their leaderships. At the same time the LCs of the republics and the provinces should manifest their autonomy and their responsibility for the entire work of the LCY Central Committee, for the adopted policy and its realization. The LCY Central Committee should resolutely place certain situations and activities in the LCs in the republics and the provinces that are not in keeping with the policy of the LCY and undermine the unity of the LCY on the agenda and consider them. In this connection it must intervene and call people to account when this policy is not being implemented. It should be noted that differences between ways in which light is thrown on individual social problems are natural, since there also exist differences between objective positions and interests. They must also be reflected in discussions, but this should not replace the need for clear and unanimous final documents that will ensure the unity of views and action of all the members of the LCY in their implementation.

The position of the members of the LCs and their influence on the formation of policy must grow stronger. Primary importance should be attached to the basic organizations' views and proposals. Of paramount importance for the LCY's functioning is the constant effort to strengthen democratic relations throughout its structure, from the basic organizational cell to the top, with the basic aim of enabling every LCY member to express himself creatively and contribute to the process of formulating policy and to the action aimed at its implementation. The policy that is unanimously adopted in a broad democratic atmosphere, discussion, confrontation of views, and arguments and that embodies the synthesis of the most creative powers of the revolutionary forces of society at a given moment, must be interpreted and implemented unanimously throughout the LCY.

Democratic centralism is the basic principle of the internal life, organization, and activity of the LCY. If both of its components -- democratism in decisionmaking and uncompromising implementation of the policy -- are consistently implemently, then it will offer enough scope for effective and unanimous activity. We must resist attempts to deny this principle, regardless of whether such attempts seek to impose centralist-bureaucratic monolithism or aim at liberalism and federalism. Objectively they represent an attack on the LCY as a united and revolutionary organization.

An end must be put to the phenomena whereby individual members of the LCY Central Committee and other political officials make public controversial statements on the leadership's conclusions and attitudes, thus creating confusion and dilemmas in the rank and file.

The collective and individual activity of the members of the LCY Presidium and the Central Committee and their public statements should be in the service of the democratic formation and unanimous implementation of the established LCY policy on the basis of the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism. In this connection it must be clear that every political official bears social responsibility for public statements.

In the work of this Central Committee, which is working in complex social conditions, it has become clear, to a greater extent than it was possible to consider at the 12th congress, that the LCY Central Committee and its organization and method of work must be adapted more radically to the new historical situation in which the LCY and our society have been left without Tito and other prominent authorities. These circumstances demand unity and collective, responsible work by the Central Committee and its political executive organ. It also requires all institutions in our system and all social factors to take their share of responsibility, in carrying out constitutionally established policy and tasks efficiently and building their own reputation on specific results, and generally contributing to overcoming the current situation and the negative tendencies with which we are confronted.

It is not possible to discuss these questions without entering into problems and shortcomings in the organization and efficiency of the political summit of the federation in general. There is a clear need for better organization, coordination, and sychronized action by all organs and organizations in the federation; for lack of coordination, parallelism, and disunity in this work has an unfavorable effect on the efficiency of implementing established policy. In this respect we need to strengthen the functions of the socialist alliance as a front of all organized socialist forces and insist on the responsibility of everyone. The LC cannot be merely one of the protagonists in a system that supports operational measures by state and other bodies. It should base its attitude on an objective assessment of the class and revolutionary content and significance of proposed measures.

It must be quite clear that it is not acceptable for elements of coordination of views and agreement-seeking -- which are characteristics of the assembly system and mechanism -- to be introduced into the LC. As a revolutionary organization and the vanguard of the working class, the LCY and its leadership must act as a mobilizing and guiding ideopolitical force and as a critical conscience in the face of reality to change and adapt to all the higher forms of democratic socialist organization of society.

The Central Committee cannot alone, separate, become essentially more efficient and better equipped if other subjects of the federation and of the political system as a whole -- first and foremost the socialist alliance, the assembly, and the trade unions -- drag their feet in carrying out their duties. In the same way, they cannot function completely successfully if the Central Committee is acting in a way that hinders the realization of their functions, initiatives, and responsibilities. The sense of raising our general effectiveness and capacity is deeper. It needs to result in the creation of material, social, and institutional conditions for strengthening the role of associated labor in decisionmaking on income, on expanded reproduction, and on all social affairs.

A critical evaluation of the LCY Central Committee's work in this period demonstrates that it has not been working in a suitable manner or sufficiently resolutely on further developing socialist self-management relations and overcoming all sources and forms of etatism and bureaucratism, which is in any case a constant social need and our obligation.

Although the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium have been working on basic ideological questions of the implementation of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program and other topical questions, there was a weakness in the fact that they did not do more work on a critical analysis of practice and did not insist on accountability for the failure to carry out their conclusions consistently. Nor was reaction to individual ideopolitical questions present among the broader public always reacted to in a timely and adequate manner.

In carrying out its role as a political executive body, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has not always discussed in good time and in a suitable way topical ideo-political questions of the policy and practice of the LCY or proposed specific standpoints and measures for the guidance of all LCY organizations and organs.

All this points to the need for the LCY Central Committee to act ever increasingly as a center for establishing LCY policy. The LCY leadership should guide and encourage the whole of the LC with clear orientations, and directly initiate action by the membership and all organized socialist forces and ensure unity of thought and action. In thus strengthening the role of the Central Committee, at the same time it is essential that the Presidium, through the whole of its work and orientation, does more to strengthen its executive function and fights consistently for the implementation of established policy, ensures regular monitoring of the carrying out of that policy, unites current ideopolitical activity by all LCY organs and organizations, and reports on all this to the Central Committee. The Presidium should initiate discussions on those organs and organizations that are not carrying out the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee or have an opportunistic or vacillating attitude to them. The public discussion insisted on calling to account all those who are most and directly responsible for such behavior and activity.

The discussion in connection with the proposed conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session, the conclusions of the 16th session, and the adoption of the work program have introduced new elements into the method and content of the LCY Central Committee's work and activity and significantly enhanced its role and responsibility. It is a fact that the top priority and most important questions of social development are finding their way onto the agenda of the LCY Central Committee.

Despite all the justified critical observations on the work of the Central Committee, it is evident that the LCY Central Committee, bearing in mind the commitments it has undertaken, has created the basis for more direct involvement, more effective decisionmaking, policy-creation, and concern for that policy's implementation. It is thus strengthening its own responsibility. The Central Committee has come to grips with the key social issues and, proceeding precisely from the criticism voiced in the public discussion, is now able to make considerable effort and set in train a series of actions aimed at the successful realization of the adopted work program. Even though numerous tasks and ambitious commitments are at issue here, we must persevere, bearing in mind, above all, the needs of society and also the preparations for the 13th congress.

At the 17th session an examination was carried out of the problem of rising inflation and the immediate tasks for realizing the anti-inflation program were set. Today, standpoints on strengthening the constitutional position of the worker in associated labor and in decisionmaking and managing income and means of social reproduction have been proposed.

Also before us is a report on the year's work by the Presidium that, naturally, also included the work of the Central Committee. The platform for the preparations for the 13th LCY Congress will be on the agenda of the next Central Committee session.

The Central Committee has to deal with the questions of realizing and further developing the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav federation, the development of economic relations with foreign countries and the foreign currency system, and a critical analysis of the functioning and further perfection of the political system of socialist self-management. Work in tackling the basic problems of an employment policy and social policy is well advanced and the questions of the social-class composition of the LCs and the realization of a cadre policy in the LCY and society have been prepared for discussion. Preparations have begun for an examination of the topical ideopolitical questions and tasks of the LCs in realizing the social role and position of the young generation, and a special working group will prepare for discussion the subject of realizing the role of the LCY in the front of organized socialist forces.

Work is also being done on an analysis of ideopolitical trends in society and the LCs, the identification of the necessary organizational and statute changes in the LCY, and general preparations for the congress and its documents. This will mean that in the coming months there will have to be several Central Committee sessions and to the same end the work of the LCY Central Committee Presidium will be increased. All these affairs, the commitments we have taken on, the analyses we have begun, the real social and political needs create the opportunity for the Central committee to strengthen its role and affirm its functions and responsibility before the LCs and the working class as a whole and objectively bind it to do so.

The Central Committee must respond in an exemplary fashion to the publicly undertaken commitments and thus confirm its role of a political leadership that creates and conducts policy, effectively implements it, and has a responsible attitude toward the adopted tasks. These commitments are not for the Central Committee alone, nor can it carry out all these tasks itself. These are also the commitments of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the central and provincial committees, all the LCY organs and organizations, and all the members. They can only be carried out effectively if they are backed up by overall efforts, increased work, and the mobility of all the LCY forces and structures.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium is currently involved in a broad range of activities. All the questions in the program of the Central Committee and Presidium have been addressed and are being worked on. Broader involvement by a larger number of Central Committee members and other scientific, party, and public workers has been achieved. The achievements based on this are tangible and definite. But despite the increased involvement of the Presidium, one must frankly and self-critically point to the delays in realizing the function of the Presidium as a policy-executing organ. [In this connection, one should stress the following in particular: The Presidium is confronted by great difficulties in realizing the unified standpoints on key priority questions of development and in ensuring unified action and activity in the realization of the LCY policy and the agreed standpoints, and the Presidium is still not present enough in the work of the LCY organizations, and especially the work of the LC leaderships in the republics and provinces. The possible and highly necessary contribution the Presidium could make toward creating in society and the entire community an atmosphere of complete mobility in the realization of the goals and tasks of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program -- a climate that would permit and ensure the broadest possible action to strengthen efficiency and responsibility -- has not yet been realized.

On this occasion, too, I would like to stress that we must constantly keep in mind that communists, working people, and citizens do not assess the work of the LCY and its leadership by which questions it examines and to what extent, but by the real results and by what is changing in real life in accordance with the agreed goals and tasks.

Despite all the efforts we are making, we are nevertheless confronted by the fact that much is still being done in a way that does not quite correspond to the needs and goals. Work methods are still old-fashioned and we produce numerous papers, documents and conclusions, lengthy reports, and an abundance of monologues. It is a fact that decisions and standpoints are adopted unanimously in the Central Committee, but after this, in practice there remains an impression that full coordination of standpoints has not been achieved and that there are ideopolitical differences and disagreements. This is particularly noticeable in the implementation of the adopted tasks and decisions.

The LCY Central Committee must have the strength, political maturity, and responsibility to complete its discussions, analyses, and sessions with clear, realizable conclusions. The Presidium must also make its utmost contribution to this. It is responsible for coming before the LCY Central Committee with unified standpoints, proceeding from the LCY's strategic orientations. However, if the necessary unity is not reached in time on certain questions, no matter how important and major, this cannot be a justification or an excuse for the question being deferred, left unresolved, or not brought before the Central Committee. The great commitments that the Central Committee has taken on and the seriousness of the social situation demand that all questions -- including those on which unity has not been reached -- should come before this most responsible LCY forum because the process of reaching agreement and clarifying cannot go on forever.

In its work the LCY Central Committee must devote most attention to the ideopolitical activity that will constantly contribute toward the LCY's strengthening its roots in the working class and expressing its historic and direct interests. The LCY and its leadership must not permit itself to lag behind material and technological development or the development of social consciousness, but must constantly maintain and develop its vitality and dynamism, relying on broad democratic initiatives and the influence of the members and their decisive contribution in the construction and implementation of policy. In this way the LCY will most successfully realize its leading role and, in the method and content of its activity, it will be attractive to workers and other working people and the young generation, who in our society must take on an increasing role and responsibility.

All the affairs and tasks also demand a move forward in work methods, organized preparations of sessions and documents, greater activity by Central Committee commissions and working bodies, and greater individual involvement and activity by every member of this forum.

Relying on the messages, demands, and overall results of the recent all-party discussions and the conclusions of the 16th session, the LCY has real opportunities, and commitments, for bringing about a change of direction in conduct and action. We are talking here about creating a new, positive, and creative atmosphere in overall activity. Support for this lies in the enormous energy and support for the strategic orientations of the LCY voiced in the discussion. Among the members and the broadest socialist public of our country the feeling that the SFRY should develop and strengthen in the direction that has been historically won and confirmed by our development so far was expressed very strongly.

Frank, harsh, and uncompromising criticism and self-criticism must continue to be nurtured, but not the sowing of despair or the pointless donning of sack-cloth and ashes. A leadership that does not believe in its ability to contribute to finding solutions, implementing the agreed policy, and opening-up certain prospects condemns itself to an inferior and marginal position, just as a very progressive political orientation can be compromised if it is not turned into real-life practice and if it is not, through struggle and involvement, shown to be right by its results. The working class does not need moaning or the transformation of political forums into "wailing walls." The working class quite rightly demands that the leadership should act in unison, and actively and uncompromisingly enter the fray, direct social action, and work to ensure that society and the revolution constantly advance.

Today everyone in the movement's leadership is assessed more rigorously and demands for responsible work from them more pronounced. Objective contradictions and difficulties have accumulated, starting from the country's indebtedness, the economic crisis, delays in the development of self-management, the break-up of the unified Yugoslav market, the growth of the state's functions and etatist power, right up to the weakening of the function of the political subject, the market presence of autarchic tendencies and centralist-unitarist pressures. To this should be added the strengthening of the sources and manifestations of nationalism and the increasingly aggressive activity of other class and ideological opponents who exploit our difficulties and weaknesses. At the same time we should not lose sight of the fact that the overall world development abounds with contradictions and conflicts, uncertainties and tendencies that arouse constant concern.

The LCY has clearly formulated the goals and tasks for the present stage of social development. By carrying out these tasks it is possible to bring about a change of action and strengthen the course of the revolution. This will strengthen the unity, cohesive power, and prestige of the LCs and most successfully defeat ideopolitical adversaries. The difficulties that face us go back a long way and cannot be solved overnight. If one loses sight of this, disillusionment or radical-minded behavior may manifest itself. The process of democratic coordination of views and self-managing interests throughout our system is clumsy and slow. There is considerable resistance to it. Often enormous energy is spent in coordinating pragmatic and partial interests, which often conceal statist structures and relations, instead of discussing strategy and striving to find unified ideopolitical foundations for capital questions of our further development.

Much of our lagging behind has been caused by the halt in the development of socialist self-management. Self-management must be enabled to make fresh breakthroughs and permeate all the social and economic processes and all the institutions of social life. Self-management is our basic orientation in social relations and its development and the capturing by it of fresh spaces and possibilities in overcoming etatism are consequently of crucial importance for the future of our revolution, society, and community. Such a course calls for total support from all the socialist self-managing forces and direct involvement and struggle, especially when things are not developing the way they should and the way we planned and even when such a struggle threatens individual, partial, and pragmatic interests. However, it must be quite clear that no solutions for unsolved questions, however pressing they happen to be, may be looked for in defiance or to the detriment of socialist self-management and the equality of our nations and nationalities.

The LCY Central Committee faces great obligations. It is possible and necessary to take steps that will contribute with no delay to the efforts to improve the work of the Central Committee.

However, the essence of the problems we face does not lie in corrections and greater or lesser improvements in the work of the Central Committee, but in the need to find the answer to the main question of our time, that is: how to do everything that is possible and necessary to ensure that this LCY Central Committee, such as it is, will establish this highly necessary unity of thought and action in the LCY in the interests of our revolution's and country's future. The present time lays particular stress on the need pointed out by Comrade Tito, which is that "the LCY needs a strong, dynamic, and influential leadership" that will ensure "the unanimous activity of all the LCs and direct its action toward settling the fundamental questions of the socialist self-managing development of the Yugoslav community."

We must do all we can to ensure that the LCY will perform this role and carry out these obligations. Despite all the difficulties, we proceed from the conviction that in the working class, in the LCY, in the front of the socialist forces we have sufficient resources on which we can build our ability to be equal to the challenge posed by history and ensure further upward progress in the development of the SFRY.

Hadzivasilev on Workers' Roles

LD192222 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1045 GMT 19 Jul 85

["Hadzivasilev Report at LCY Central Committee Session" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG) -- The stubborn resistance of technobureaucratic and etatist forces, and inadequate respect for economic laws are the basic causes for the failure of the constitutional rights, commitments, and responsibility of the workers of associated labor managing and controlling the means of social reproduction in public ownership to take hold in practice. All our analyses show that practical experience in no way casts doubt on the foundations of our system, but at the same time they warn us of the need for resolute elimination of everything that hampers, slows down, or even prevents the realization of the essence of the system of associated labor and socialist self-management.

This was stressed by Kiro Hadzivasilev, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in his opening report on realization of the constitutional position of the worker in decisionmaking and managing income and the means of social reproduction. In this connection he pointed to the unfavorable relationship that has been prevalent for a long time between the various forms of direct consumption and accumulation, which weakens the material foundations of self-management -- and to the inadequate pooling of resources for expanded reproduction.

In the distribution of resources for personal consumption, unfavorable trends have also come about and there has been a spread of the phenomenon whereby large incomes are being realized without work as the result of various privileges, trends, inadequacies in the system and economic policy measures, or large incomes are originating from suspect sources. In associated labor there have, therefore, arisen differences in remuneration for approximately the same quantity and quality of work, differences that in no way correspond to the principle of distribution of income according to work done. And so, in too many cases the material position of the worker does not depend so much on how and how much he works as where he works. Not only does this violate the socialist principles of distribution of income, but it also leads to social differentiation and prompts workers to realize their material interests by other means.

It is clear from statistical data, Hadzivasilev stressed, that these differences in remuneration are very rarely in the ratio of one to two. There are considerably more cases where this ratio is as high as 1 to 8, 9, or 10, and even higher. In 1982 a case was recorded where in one place a cleaner was earning more than 27,000 dinars and a courier more than 35,000 dinars. At the same time, but in a different place, a specialist chemist was earning 7,653 dinars and a university professor a little over 11,000 dinars. These are serious problems that speak of our attitude towards work, production means, public ownership, and the mutual attitudes of these workers and their equality.

Where do these disruptions arise, Hadzivasilev asked, and pointed to the fact that the distribution of income between consumption and accumulation in proportion to the income's total volume essentially breach the principles of distribution of income according to work done in cases where the income was above average or very high. This question was illuminated in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program but conceptions of income which ignore the inevitable, and often great, differences in earning income and the objective laws in its distribution are stubbornly being maintained. Proceeding from a critical identification of these negative phenomena, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has formulated proposals for changes in the relationships between production and distribution. They in no way bring into question our program orientations or the principles and regulations of the constitution and the law on associated labor, but are rather aimed at realizing this system successfully in practice and implementing it more quickly, consistently, and completely.

According to Hadzivasilev, these changes would allow every worker, on the basis of his individual current labor, to earn good money at his place of work if he successfully carries out his work tasks and achieves good output. This first part of his personal income would be in proportion to the quantity and quality of each worker's labor. It would no longer be payment in advance but socially recognized earnings acquired through labor that would depend on how much and how the worker worked and not where he worked. This would realize the standpoint in the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program whereby workers should receive approximately the same personal income for equal work, regardless of where they work, but with tolerable differences between the republics and provinces in view of their unequal economic development and average labor productivity. A social contract in the country would set the limits within which these differences could move.

This would satisfy the demands of the working class that everyone's work should be evaluated as precisely as possible and would permit consistent realization of the fundamental socialist principle of distribution of income according to work.

At issue here is not merely social justice, though this is a very important aspect, but also stimulation of the worker's interests constantly to develop and promote work, production, and productivity. This does not mean that the worker would not also be interested in matters outside his workplace. On the contrary, this aspect of the worker's objective interest will be manifested even more forcefully by linking the second part of his pesonal income to the economic success of the basic associated labor organization. This success depends on the general result of its work but also on its links and relations in the work organization, the complex work organization, and all other forms of pooling of labor and resources. The direct personal concern and interest of the workers themselves would increasingly become the reason for pressing for the optimum accumulation of social capital and the maximum possible accumulative and reproduction capacity of the economy, which is an undoubted synthetic expression of real material and social progress.

Thus workers would be motivated and stimulated in the material sense to manage social resources as successfully and well as possible and to realize their constitutional rights and commitments as fully as possible, both in production and work in society in general, and in all other spheres of social life. The proposed concept of two parts in the personal income is not, therefore, some technical category of distribution, Hadzivasilev stressed. It expresses very important aspects of production relations in the system of associated labor.

More precisely, the first part of all workers' personal incomes corresponds in fact to the socially and self-management agreed value which can and must be set aside for normal reproduction or the renewal of expended labor. Between the personal claim on part of the worker's income and the social claim there exists a definite relationship that is not and must not be accidental, and even less arbitrarily determined, because it is an expression of necessity. For this reason it has to be set at the level of the economic laws of self-management socialist commodity production.

This is precisely what is achieved by the proposed concept of two parts to personal income based on the objectively necessary division between necessary labor and the surplus of labor, or means of simple and expanded reproduction. If the problem is not resolved in this way, the possibility remains that personal and joint claims will be realized to the detriment of the social claims, that is, that part of social property will be transferred to personal and joint consumption. At issue here is the need to protect resources in social ownership and to ensure their optimum expanded reproduction because without this there can be no development of a firm foundation for the system of associated labor and socialist self-management.

If these problems are solved successfully then the two immediate objectives of crucial importance for the stabilization of our economic trends can be realized. In other words, the basic factor of our system, that is, the direct producer, should be fully motivated and animated to work more successfully to earn more and to control social means, while the system itself should contain provisions that regulate the objectively necessary, legal relations in associated labor and that ensure that all production and social subjects adhere to these economic postulates and laws. To the extent to which they are successfully realized, to that extent we shall be able, Hadzivasilev stressed, to counter haphazard phenomena and disruptions in the reproduction trends, to reduce and gradually ring down to the necessary level state interventionist measures in the economy, and to create conditions for the successful social reproduction processes and comprehensive economic and social development.

Under such conditions it will be possible for workers in basic organizations of associated labor to exercise real control over social means and over all the processes of the pooling together of labor and resources in which they take part. However, Hadzivasilev warned, we must not harbor illusions that even under such conditions it will be possible to eliminate, swiftly and completely, the phenomena of the workers' self-managing rights being usurped by technobureaucratic and etatist forces. For a long time to come, social property contradictions will continue to create room for such phenomena and forces, but their scope of activity will be gradually reduced since the means of the struggle against them will be directly in the hands of self-managers.

Associated labor needs the knowhow and professional work of engineers, economists, and other professionals and businesses. When they are deprived of their privileges in the control of means and are put on an equal footing with all workers they will earn their recognition according to their work, but will stop being a technobureaucratic threat to the workers' self-managing rights.

Our self-managing society needs an efficient and competent state administration, provided it is deprived of any opportunity to control social means and their distribution except within its constitutional competence.

When we succeed in fully realizing in practice the workers' constitutional rights to control the means of social reproduction, all the advantages and qualities of our constitutional system will come to the fore. Conditions will also be created for total elimination of the forces of all kinds of egoisms -- from the individual to the national one -- that lead to the exacerbation of contradictions and even to economic, social, and political conflicts. That will be the best way to prevent and counter social and political conflicts, to overcome the absurd and primitive manifestations of economic isolationism and barriers, to create and expand the necessary economic links and integration and also to promote the processes that will enable our working people and all of our nations and nationalities to achieve a higher degree of unity. Realization of the workers' constitutional rights to control and manage the means of social reproduction is the key factor in our efforts to find solutions to the exacerbated economic problems.

When self-management becomes more deeply rooted and begins to function properly in all its forms and in all the spheres of social life, conditions will be created, Hadzivasilev stressed, for the socialist self-managing democracy of workers to flourish fully. It will be under such conditions that all the advantages of this form of democracy will reveal themselves.

Continuing his report, Kiro Hadzivasilev concentrated on the enemies of socialism and self-management who are taking advantage of this critical stage in the development of our society in order to arouse the doubt and incredulity of the working people and to demoralize and disorient them. To some extent they are succeeding in this, Hadzivasilev added, stressing that we must resolutely oppose the enemies of self-management. This means that we must spread and strengthen our ideopolitical influence.

It is reasonable to expect, he stressed, that often the processes of developing socialist self-management should go through hard struggle, tensions, deviations and temporary disruption. However, it is pointless for the enemies of socialism to hope for and look forward to such difficulties and disruptions. Such difficulties cannot reverse the course of history. All they are doing is imparting even greater stimulus to progressive socialist forces to overcome the outmoded forms and find a better and right way along which to continue, Hadzivasilev stressed, referring to the standpoint of the LCY program.

This was and remains the LC's firm orientation and essential characteristic -- Hadzivasilev underlined. Only on the basis of the creative revolutionary improvement in its theoretical views and in its actions can the LC build the ideopolitical unity of communists.

Communists, the broadest socialist forces, all our working people who are fighting for realization of the system of socialist self-management and for its further successful development have no reason to lose self-confidence but should do their utmost to take part in the general efforts aimed at achieving the best possible results in this. The LC is firmly pursuing that route and is prepared to respond to any criticism that could contribute to faster and more successful realization of such a policy and will resolutely counter any attack on it from the conservative, bourgeois-liberalist, and etatist positions. Neither will we give in to those who are making public noises, and the more malicious they are the louder the noises.

At the end of his report Hadzivasilev stressed that the LC has been increasingly successful in tackling these problems, which will enable it to continue its revolutionary struggle in this complex and difficult situation in a dignified manner and to demonstrate and prove its vitality as our society's leading ideopolitical force.

Here today, he stressed, the LC is launching a fresh and significant initiative directed against the obstacles on the road of development of the systems of associated labor and socialist self-management. This initiative is in the immediate interest, above all, of our working class and all working people in associated labor, since it is aimed at realizing their aspirations and interests, and their constitutional rights, obligations and responsibilities. Since this is an action that will affect all economic and social trends and that can be successfully carried out only with direct activity by workers in associated labor, we must make sure that they are informed about its essence and significance in the most comprehensive way possible so that they themselves can contribute to the final formulation and adoption of the Central Committee's stands and to the most consistent and comprehensive implementation possible, Kiro Hadzivasilev stressed, inter alia, in his introductory report.

SINDJIC REPORTS TO ASSEMBLY ON ECONOMIC TRENDS

LD182332 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Report on Milos Sindjic's "opening report" on economic trends to the joint session of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade on 18 July]

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG) -- [Words indistinct] on condition that additional efforts are made by everyone to implement the measures adopted and provided for by the program, said Milos Sindjic, general director of the Federal Institute for Social Planning, who delivered an opening report on economic trends.

Of the greatest importance, Sindjic pointed out, this year is to realize the growth of exports to both the convertible currency markets and elsewhere and profitable production to the maximum possible extent. This is the prerequisite if we want to realize a surplus in the balance of payment, maintain liquidity with foreign countries and ensure the necessary imports.

The Federal Executive Council [FEC] judges that the increase in profitable production and exports is the key aim of the adopted and draft measures aimed at realizing the anti-inflationary policy and halting the fall in real personal incomes and the standard of living, he pointed out.

Sindjic went on to speak of the results achieved in the economy so far and on the expectations for the period up to the end of the year. Industrial production is up by 2.9 percent and shows an upward trend. Sindjic pointed out that the expected growth of industrial production of 4 percent by the end of the year can be realized, of course, on condition that the expected measures are realized.

And despite unfavorable weather and other conditions, there are still real prospects that the expected increase in agricultural production (2.5 percent) will be realized. This year's wheat harvest is expected to be around 4.9 million metric tons and of corn over 10 million metric tons. It is of particular importance to realize the expected purchase of wheat of around 3.4 million metric tons.

A successful tourist season is under way, Sindjic pointed out, and added that in the first 6 months of this year the foreign exchange inflow was up by 8 percent, as was the number of nights per tourist and foreign tourist arrangements. If we realize the program of tourist activities, the foreign exchange income will be $130 million higher than expected ($1.285 billion).

Despite the significant increase, particularly in June and the beginning of July, export activity is considerably below the expected amount. For 6 and 1/2 months exports were 5 percent higher than in the same period last year: to convertible currency markets by 1 percent and to the clearing area by 12 percent, while to the developing countries a 13 percent fall in exports was recorded. At the same time imports increased by 10 percent (the target was 6 percent). Such trends in the first 5 months resulted in a $451 million deficit in the balance of payments.

Continuing his report Sindjic spoke of the importance of additional measures for stimulating export activities, first of all, to the convertible currency markets. According to his assessment these measures should be expected to provide associated labor organizations with an additional stimulus to increase exports.

The general director of the Institute for Social Planning further spoke about the unfavorable effects of the high rate of inflation on the growth of production, exports, and the standard of living. (The real value of personal incomes fell by 2 percent in the first 4 months of the year). Starting from the adopted and draft economic measures aimed at curbing inflation, it should be expected, Sindjic said, that in the coming months inflation will further abate. This is the central task of the current economic policy.

The program of operative measures and activities for the realization of the current economic policy in 1985 envisages 79 concrete activities in almost all sectors of the economic policy. A consistent realization of all these measures will contribute to the creation of such economic conditions as are favorable to the growth of production, exports, and market-dictated prices.

All financial obligations to foreign countries that are due were carried out on time, apart from those postponed through agreement. In the months to follow, these obligations will again be one of the most difficult limitations. Therefore, great efforts have to be made, primarily by increasing exports, in particular to convertible currency markets, so that this burden becomes somewhat lighter, he pointed out.

Since the tasks established through the resolution for this year are not being realized at the expected level, it is necessary, as was emphasized in the introductory report, that all subjects in the economy and all participants in the economic policy should increase their efforts and take steps toward making up all omissions as much as possible in the following months. The present revival of economic activities and other positive changes will be decisively maintained by the measures of the economic policy. At the same time it is necessary to overcome the state of passive expectation and to spur fresh initiatives and creative activities.

Milos Sindjic went on to speak about the need for a more complete realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. He emphasized that, even despite the current measures and present positive results in the economy, the crisis situation has not been, nor could it have been, overcome. The development problems that accumulated earlier and material disproportions in the social reproduction processes have not been overcome.

The hotbeds of inflation and instability have not been eliminated. According to Sindjic, the reasons for that are many and deep: almost one-quarter of the capacities and investments are considerably below the normal level of profitability and market criteria, inflation accounts for more than 90 percent of the nominal income of organizations of associated labor, less than 11 percent of the gross social product is exported, scientific-technological progress is making hardly any contribution to the growth of the social product instead of accounting for more than 50 percent of its growth, the contribution of scientific-technological progress is hardly noticeable, productive employment is both absolutely and relatively low, energy supply is one-third of the European level, the utilization of work hours and capacities hardly reaches two-thirds of the possible level, and the growth of amortization is slower by a factor of more than two.

The current economic policy measures and initiated economic-systemic changes alone are not sufficient to successfully overcome these weaknesses and problems. The necessary material, organizational, technological and other changes should be carried out with determination. This could be realized in a longer-term period and it should be a long-term task for all of us. In this context, Sindjic emphasized that the FEC is preparing, besides the current program, a special program of measures and activities for a speedier and fuller realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, which would also include structural changes in production, economic relations with foreign countries, and changes in the domestic market.

In conclusion, Sindjic pointed out that on the basis of the trends thus far in 1986, a 4 percent growth of industrial production is expected, a 3 percent growth of agricultural production, and a 3 percent growth of the social product. Exports should rise by over $13 billion, that is to say, total foreign exchange income should be almost $21 billion. This is a prerequisite for achieving the needed imports and for repaying foreign debts of approximately $6 billion [words indistinct]. The next year should be a year of continuation of initiated positive procedures, of adaptation to new conditions, and of a certain economic recovery, stressed Milos Sindjic among other things.

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER FAILS TO AGREE ON PLANNING BILL

AU192005 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 19 July carries a 3-minute report and a brief rejoinder by Nedeljko Mirkovic on the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber failing to agree on the planning bill.

Mirkovic reports: "The session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber began at 1920, after having been adjourned last night at the request of the delegates from Vojvodina so that special procedures could be initiated to adopt the law on the foundations of the social planning system and the social plan of Yugoslavia." Before the session yesterday, there were three times as many amendments as there were articles of the bill, and the views on planning, in the SR of Serbia particularly, differed. The chamber session was therefore adjourned for 24 hours, while the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations tried to find a solution.

"In the course of the morning," Mirkovic says, "the presidents of the Vojvodina and Kosovo assemblies, the president of the Executive Council of the Vojvodina Assembly, vice presidents of the Assembly of Serbia and of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia, representatives of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and the Legislation and Legal Commission stayed on in the SFRY Assembly building. Together with the members of the referent committee, they created conditions for bringing the positions on the planning bill together. Immediately before our broadcast, the committee after painful work eliminated the disagreements.

"Speaking about the article of the bill referring to planning in Serbia, the provision was unanimously adopted that the common interests, aims, and tasks of economic and social development in the social plan of Serbia be regulated in conformity with Article 4 of the SFRY Constitution.

"At the same time, (Stojan Jaranov), delegate of Serbia, agreed with the statements of the FEC representative and other members of the committee that the matter contained in Serbia's amendment -- which states: The social plan of the autonomous province also contains obligations on the implementation of common interests, aims, and tasks that are determined in the social plan of Serbia as questions of common interest for the republic as a whole -- should be resolved in the planning law of Serbia.

"(Stojan Jaranov) withdrew Serbia's amendment. In this way conditions have been created for the Federal Chamber to adopt the law, and delegates gave vent to their relief with applause at the conclusion of work. While I am reporting, a session of the Federal Chamber is under way, and the adoption of the law should be a mere formality, we hope," Mirkovic concludes.

Some 10 minutes later in the same broadcast, Mirkovic reports again from the SFRY Assembly, saying that "a fierce discussion began again. Ilijaz Kurtesi, president of the SFRY Assembly, intervened. The delegates from Vojvodina then requested an adjournment of the session."

Failure To Adopt Bill Viewed

AU212051 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 85

[From the "Sunday at 10" program: Nedeljko Mirkovic feature on the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber discussion on the planning bill on 18-19 July]

[Excerpts] Disputes about the planning bill have been going on for several months, mostly removed from the economic framework and completely fitted into the political milieu -- they have actually turned into an ideological confrontation about the political system. Aware of this fact, the LCY Central Committee Presidium recently pointed out that communists in the delegate assemblies are responsible for agreement being reached and laws being adopted as soon as possible with a view to effecting changes in the economic system, development, and economic policy. Slow decisionmaking and coordination affect unfavorably the situation in the country, the Presidium warned. Although there are LCY members among the delegates, the concluding part of the procedure of adopting the planning bill was reached with three times as many amendments as there were articles in the bill.

The special procedure was applied for the second time in the history of the SFRY Assembly proceedings at the suggestion of Vojvodina delegates, which was expounded by Vilmos Molnar. In response to Mulnar's accusations directed against the FEC, which proposed the bill, Mijat Sukovic, vice president of the FEC, retorted:

[Begin Sukovic recording] I must say that I am upset. Clear constitutional orientations are made to seem unclear in the debate on the planning bill, in particular about Article 41 now included in the proposal. I do not know why anyone needs that or who needs it, but I know that that is damaging to the unity of the country as a whole and, moreover, that it is becoming dangerous for solving many problems. [end Sukovic recording]

Some 24 hours later, after a solution was found at the Committee for Economic Relations With Foreign Countries which was accepted by all delegates, including the one from Vojvodina, an unexpected turn occurred at the Federal Chamber session. Delegates from Vojvodina, again represented by Vilmos Molnar, rejected the solution offered by the committee.

[Begin Molnar recording] Do we really think that we can change some things in our system, that we can [word indistinct] some things that we had not verified as a party, as communists? We want to rush through some systematic questions without solving this at congresses as we used to do. I think that this is not correct. For me, as a communist, this is unacceptable. About this the entire system should give its opinion [as heard] -- it cannot be (?pushed) in such a way. [end Molnar recording]

A vehement reaction by delegates followed, which SFRY Assembly President Ilijaz Kurtesi tried to calm.

[Begin Kurtesi recording] I would ask that we try to do something, of course, taking into consideration the set of rules and everything that is done here. I suggest that comrades from the group of delegates who [word indistinct] review their decisions. I think that it will be worth exerting a little more effort in order to see what we will gain if we adopt the bill today, because a period of at least 1 month is extremely precious in this situation, and I think that we have to take into consideration [word indistinct]. [end Kurtesi recording]

However, the situation did not change during the remaining part of the session; therefore Federal Chamber President Miodrag Trifunovic could do nothing but end the session.

[Begin Trifunovic recording] In accord with Article 320, Paragaraph 2, I want to state those who submitted the demand for introducing special procedure fail to agree with the proposal of the offered solution, which was completely coordinated by the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations and the FEC, and we also heard that the offered solution is completely in conformity with our constitutional system, and the constitutional position of the socialist autonomous province is not called into question at all. This question is therefore taken from the agenda and will be put on the agenda of the next session, which will be convoked later. I conclude the session. [end Trifunovic recording]

Almost simulteneously at the session of the LCY Central Committee session, which was held in the same building some 50 meters away, it was said that the top party leadership should be resolute in putting on the carpet certain situations and activities in the LC and the republics and provinces that are not in conformity with LCY policy and that mine the unity of the country. In this respect, the Central Committee must intervene and call someone to account when policy is not implemented.

GOVERNMENT VIEWS JARUZELSKI VISIT, CUSTOMS ZONES

LD192128 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 19 Jul 85

["Yugoslav Government Session" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG) -- Polish Council of Ministers Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski's recent visit to Yugoslavia will contribute to the further promotion of friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between the Yugoslavia and Poland on mutually defined principles, a Yugoslav Government session assessed last night.

The session stressed that successful results achieved in Yugoslav-Polish economic cooperation open prospects for more stable and long-term economic relations orientated towards specialization and industrial cooperation. The competent organs have been charged with the task of preparing concrete measures for the realization of the conclusions reached in talks between Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc and Polish Council of Ministers Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski. At last night's session, the proposed law on customs zones and the proposed law on foreign trade transactions in customs zones were formulated by the government. The laws will be submitted to the assembly.

It is envisaged that customs zones will be set up in ports and airports open to international traffic and in freight-transport centres on major motorways. The production of industrial goods for export, the carrying out of port services, goods storage in bonded warehouses, the activities of foreign trade agencies and banking and other transactions will be permitted in the zones.

It was specified at the session that Yugoslav enterprises will not pay customs and other import duties when importing equipment, spare parts, reproduction material, machine fuel and material for the production of goods for import. It is also envisaged that goods produced or completed in the customs zones may be placed on the Yugoslav market under the conditions applicable to foreign imports.

The Yugoslav Government last night upheld the initiative to refrain from the construction of a hydro-electric power station in the gorge of the River Tara, the only one of its kind in Europe, and for an agreement to be concluded by the republics and provinces by which the Republic of Montenegro would receive compensation in terms of energy which it would have gained by the construction of the power station. The decision was taken by the government in order to preserve the exceptional beauty of the gorge which has been placed under the protection of UNESCO.

CONTESTED FOREIGN CREDIT, OPERATIONS LAW EXTENDED

AU181516 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 85 p 1

[D.B. report]

[Text] The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia yesterday examined a demand by the SFRY Assembly Chamber of the Republics and Provinces that the validity of the six contested stipulations of the Law on Foreign Operation and Credit Relations With Foreign Countries be extended. The judges showed goodwill and "turned a blind eye" to the SFRY Assembly's failure to use the first term of validity to change the unconstitutional stipulations. It was decided that the term will be extended until 31 December this year.

DETAILS OF FEDERAL DIRECTORATE MURDER GIVEN

AU181218 [Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 11 July on page 8 carries reports, and on page 5 comments, on the murder of Dusan Papic, director of the Federal Directorate for Commodity Reserves, in his office on 9 July.

In a 600-word report, Momir Ilic reports how Papic was shot dead in his office by Momcilo Vlahovic, former director of the Federal Directorate for Reserves of Industrial Products. The directorate changed names and Vlahovic was replaced by Papic in February this year. On 9 July a special commission met with Vlahovic at the directorate, to hand him the paper relieving him of his post and to receive from him documents on the work of his former directorate.

New director Papic was also present at the meeting, which lasted some 2 hours. Everyone except Vlahovic then left the office. When Papic returned shortly afterwards, Vlahovic pulled a gun and shot him dead. Vlahovic then walked out in the street but surrendered quietly to a security officer who ran after him.

In a 200-word report on the same page, R.C.M. says that the delegates of the Budget Committee of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber "in the past few years discussed the operations of this directorate several times behind closed doors (as a rule, the business of such institutions is not publicized very much) and examined irregularities in its work. Yesterday they asked a representative of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] to explain what happened in the directorate the day before yesterday, what preceded the event, and what respective organs have done to settle the situation in the directorate."

The report concludes: "Egon Padovan, deputy secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Finance, replied only to say that the entire discussion of this case is strictly confidential, particularly since 'the proceedings have not been completed yet.'"

In the "Assembly Chronicle" on page 5, R. Cirkovic-Matic in a 600-word article comments that "there are some matters which in their very nature cannot be, or at least cannot remain secret." Such a matter is the fact that "many things are going bang in the Federal Directorate for Reserves of Industrial Products, including pistols."

"Even from the closed part of the Budget Committee session yesterday it is not clear who the FEC is protecting from whom. Is it the directorate, whose directors have finished off everything; is it the creators of our cadre policy, whose omissions we may thank for many things; or is it the respective federal organs, which did not carry out their jobs? Is the administration hiding its impotence and omissions?"

Cirkovic-Matic states that the Budget Committee yesterday also discussed "for the umpteenth time (it was mentioned that this is the eighth year) irregularities in the disposal of money allocated for veterans and disabled protection." Inspectors have checked some 139 of the 539 communal organs in charge of these funds, and "not a single user of these funds that has been controlled has 'a clean bill of health.'"

BORBA URGES DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE AT CC SESSIONS

AU181942 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 85 p 2

[Bojana Marjanovic article: "The Practice of Collected Monologues"]

[Excerpt] After much delay, the LCY Central Committee will devote its next session both to its own work and to the work of its Presidium. It is good that a method cultivated over many years, which in many ways departs from the statute provisions, will be modified at this gathering.

Absence of Dialogue

The Central Committee is doing this without waiting for the congress and amendments to the statute. The actions must be constant and must ensure the continuity of the revolutionary activities of the LC, particularly since the present practice sometimes suits only those who, we may say, somehow constantly fear that matters may get agitated at the LCY Central Committee sessions, allegedly fearing that the public may perhaps get alarmed if some disunity were manifested.

As if the public does not know and does not accept it as quite natural -- suitable to our system -- that unified views are arrived at through a democratic dialogue, a variety of views, and different opinions. What causes concern among the public is specifically an absence of dialogue. The sessions are most frequently just a collection of monologues followed by conclusions that contain a little bit from every speech. It is quite normal for such positions to then be interpreted without unanimity. Our politicized citizens can discover this very easily and of course naturally become upset and even uneasy.

If somebody were to analyze the present Yugoslav political times, he could not bypass the fact that many Central Committee members do not publicly dispute various opinions at the Central Committee sessions but utilize every other rostrum and occasion for this purpose.

Members -- and some of those who were elected to their leadership are even prepared to say that members crave some sort of fund and cheap popular entertainment and that the press fully supports them in this -- expect only that. After a democratic dialogue, one would reach a position for which a majority has declared itself. And such a position, one knows, must be binding on all.

Therefore, more and more frequently the question arises as to why, at Central Committee sessions, there is no longer any voting by show of hands, a public decision for or against, a theoretical clarification, for instance, of the thesis about democratic centralism based on the production relationship, the tasks emanating from the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, and the foreign exchange system.

HUNGARY'S MARJAI CONTINUES VISIT TO REPUBLICS

Visits Macedonia

LD191753 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1601 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] Skopje, July 19 (TANJUG) -- President of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Stanko Mladenovski today received Hungarian Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Joszef Marjai, who is on an official visit to Yugoslavia. Mutual satisfaction over the participation of Macedonia in the development of overall Yugoslav-Hungarian relations and cooperation was noted.

Macedonian Premier Dragoljub Stavrev and Marjai and their aides today continued official talks. Stavrev and Marjai expressed the willingness for expansion of cooperation in the iron and steel and non-ferrous metal-processing, textile, chemical, pharmaceuticals and food industries, in agriculture and cattle-raising, culture, education and in other fields of common interest.

Prior to leaving Macedonia this afternoon, Marjai assessed the cooperation between Hungary and Yugoslavia, and in this context the cooperation between Hungary and Macedonia, and noted that the mutal wish and readiness to further promote cooperation do exist.

Visits Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD201613 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1457 GMT 20 Jul 85

[Text] Sarajevo, July 20 (TANJUG) -- Vice-President of the Hungarian Government Jozsef Marjai and president of the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Salko Oruc assessed here today that conditions exist for the further promotion of overall relations between their countries.

Accordingly, a stepped-up development of economic cooperation was found also to be possible between Hungarian and Bosnian-Hercegovinian partners.

Jozsef Marjai and President of the Bosnian-Hercegovinian Executive Council Gojko Ubiparip today discussed the expansion of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation.

They showed particular concern for the development of joint industrial production which figures prominently in Yugoslav-Hungarian relations. Their interest related also to increased goods transit and more tourist or other services.

UPCOMING LUANDA NONALIGNED CONFERENCE VIEWED

LD191011 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Jul (TANJUG) -- At a session held in the Palace of the Federation at New Belgrade today under the chairmanship of Mirko Ostojic, the Federal Social Council for International Relations considered elements of the platform for the Yugoslav delegation's participation in the ministerial conference due to be held by nonaligned countries in Luanda, capital of the People's Republic of Angola. The introductory report was submitted by Zivojin Jazic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Explaining the elements of the platform for the SFRY delegation's participation in the conference in Luanda, which is assessed among nonaligned countries as the movement's most important conference since the Delhi summit, Zivojin Jazic recalled that the situation in the world today was marked by exacerbated international and political relations. The conference would be held a year ahead of the eighth summit, which is due to take place, in keeping with the decision of the preceding meetings of nonaligned heads of state or government, in the course of 1986, the year of the 25th anniversary of the movement.

The ministerial meeting will be held in Angola, a country that has for a long time now been exposed to pressures and attacks from the Republic of South Africa. This fact, Jazic stressed, illustrates the importance the movement attaches to Angola and other Frontline States and their efforts to liberate the south of the African Continent. The conference will be held when crises continue to shake the world, when the great powers have started a fresh process of negotiations, at the time of the agreed Reagan-Gorbachev meeting. If the Nonaligned Movement wants to maintain its global presence, Jazic stressed, it is indispensable that the forthcoming conference should, for instance, adopt an attitude to the talks between the great powers.

In the Yugoslav platform it is stressed that nonaligned countries should involve themselves in the settling of mankind's acute problems more fully and more actively than in the past period.

Being the host country of the ministerial conference, Angola has already supplied the member-countries with the draft agenda that does not extend to disputed questions but covers all the political and economic problems for the settling of which the nonaligned countries are striving.

Stressing that at the moment the international situation was a challenge to nonaligned countries to be more active, Jazic recalled that Yugoslavia and Angola, as well as some other member-countries of the movement, considered that it was indispensable that the forthcoming conference, which would be held before the 40th jubilee regular session of the UN General Assembly, should adopt a special document on the role and activities of the world organization in the next period.

The conference in Luanda would enable the movement to reaffirm its original principles and place them above any ideological and bloc relations, above all in opposing pressures from outside and in the sphere of defense and security of member-states. It would provide nonaligned countries with the opportunity to express their solidarity with and extend assistance to those member-states that were exposed to the greatest threat today, such as Nicaragua, which was exposed to economic blockade and military pressures, or Mozambique, which needed concrete aid because of the activity of the counterrevolutionary movement supported from South Africa.

The participants in the Luanda conference would have to pay particular attention to international economic problems. The present economic crisis was lying most heavily on the nonaligned and developing countries. Consequently, the ministerial conference had to establish a common political denominator and priorities with regard to such questions as foreign debts, famine in Africa, protectionism in trade, and so forth.

With regard to the hotbeds of crisis in the world, the movement's member-states must reaffirm their support for the liberation movements at the conference in Luanda and ask that these questions should be considered in the UN because the bilateral contacts have yielded only minimum progress. With regard to the Near East it is necessary to strengthen the platform for the solution of the crisis in that part of the world and of the Palestinian question.

With regard to the settling of the crisis in Central America the participants in the meeting in Luanda should support the Contadora Group's peace initiative and come out in favor of economic aid to Nicaragua.

During the discussion which ensued, 10 or so members of the council expressed a number of supplementary thoughts on the proposed document. The majority of speakers assessed the platform as a sound basis for Yugoslavia's activity at the ministerial meeting in Luanda.

LIBYA'S RAJAB CONFERS WITH INDUSTRIAL DIRECTORS

LD191547 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1450 GMT 19 Jul 85

[Text] [No dateline as received] Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah General People's Committee General-Secretary Muhammed al-Zaruq Rajab, who is on an official, friendly visit to Yugoslavia, had talks with the directors of the Energoinvest Engineering Industry and the Unis Associated Enterprise in Sarajevo, Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today. During the talks cooperation to date was assessed as positive and the potential for future cooperation between the enterprises and Libyan firms was pointed out. The Libyan premier left Sarajevo this afternoon for Brioni on the northern Adriatic.

PROMISING AREAS FOR COOPERATION WITH LIBYA OUTLINED

LD192233 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 19 Jul 85

["Yugoslav-Libyan Committee for Economic Cooperation" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 19 (TANJUG) -- The greatest possibilities for promoting Yugoslav-Libyan economic cooperation exist in the field of capital investment and coproduction, as concluded of [as received] a session of the mixed Committee for Economic Cooperation which closed in Belgrade this evening.

The document on the session, signed by the co-chairmen of the committee, Yugoslav Government member Zivorad Kovacevic and secretary of Libya's General People's Committee for Planning and Economy Shakshuki, states for the first time that agriculture is one of the most promising fields of cooperation between the two countries.

Members of the committee agreed on concrete steps to promote scientific and technological cooperation and regulate a number of questions relating to social security of Yugoslav workers engaged on capital projects in Libya.

Yugoslav-Libyan trade reaches the value of some 300 million dollars a year. Yugoslavia imports mostly Libyan oil and exports industrial products. Yugoslav construction workers currently have one billion 800 million dollars worth of contracted investment work in Libya.

CSSR NATIONAL FRONT DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU181814 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 85 p 6

[Excerpts] Belgrade -- Concluding talks were held in Belgrade yesterday between a delegation of the SAWPY and a delegation of the Czechoslovak National Front, which is visiting our country as a guest of the SAWPY Federal Conference. The two delegations, headed by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, and Dr Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front, exchanged opinions about further trends in the development of bilateral relations. Agreement was reached on the need to intensify mutual contacts in the coming period, through which the SAWPY and the Czechoslovak National Front will, as both sides assessed, make a considerable contribution to further development and the advance of friendly relations between the SFRY and CSSR.

After a 3-day visit to our country during which, apart from Belgrade, it also visited Ljubljana, the delegation left for Prague yesterday.

CORRECTION TO LCY CC SESSION PROCEEDINGS

The following correction to the item subheaded "Role, Work of CC Discussed" under the headline "LCY Central Committee Holds 18th Session," published today on page I 1, is provided by Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1134 GMT on 22 July:

"We have been requested by the LCY Central Committee Presidium to transmit the following text: 'In the reports from the 18th session of the LCY Central Committee it was mistakenly omitted that the LCY Central Committee verified the election of Djordje Stojsic, president of the Vojvodina Provincial LC Committee, as a member of the LCY Central Committee and of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.'"